

INSCRIPTIONS OF ORISSA

(INSCRIPTIONS OF BHAUMA-KARAS)



SNIGDHA TRIPATHY

THE BOOK

The present volume, the second in series of the Orissan inscriptions, is the result of the intellectual labour, deals with inscriptions of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty which played a pivotal role in the history of Orissa from the eighth to tenth century A.D. Based on the original documents in the form of copper plate and stone records discovered from different parts of Orissa, it presents almost a complete picture of the history and culture of the dynasty as well as the period of its ruler. The improved versions of the Bhauma-Kara records yielding more dependable readings with a great bearing on this important phase in Orissan history have been thoroughly dwelt upon in the enlightening introduction. In its originality of materials and the manner of presentation, the volume, like the other already published, is sure to remain a source book and will be welcomed by discerning scholars.

INSCRIPTIONS OF ORISSA



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Volume II

(Inscriptions of the Bhauma-Karas)

Dr. (Mrs.) Snigdha Tripathy

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*Dedicated as a token of
my deepest respect to the sacred memory of
my grandfather the Late H.C. Tripathy
to whom I owe my interest in Sanskrit Studies.*

Snigdha Tripathy

FOREWORD

The value of inscriptions as a source of early Indian history has been widely recognised. In fact, the epigraphic records scattered all over India, Pakistan and Bangladesh form a very important source for the reconstruction of the political and cultural history of the Indian subcontinent from the third century B.C. to about the fourteenth century A.D. But for these records composed in Sanskrit and Dravidian languages and incised on a variety of materials – primarily lithic objects and copper-plates – our knowledge of the early history of India would have remained perfunctory. The number of inscriptions noticed to date far exceeds one hundred thousand, and a large majority of them offer valuable historical information not available from any other source. The mass of scattered epigraphical wealth noticed or published in numerous Indian and foreign, mostly occidental, periodicals devoted to orientology and other occasional publications, many of them long defunct or out of print, spread over nearly last two centuries, is not easily accessible to the interested students of Indian history. The necessity of bringing out properly edited handy compilations of chronologically, dynastically, regionally or otherwise allied inscriptions had, therefore, been felt since long. As early as 1877, a volume of the then known Aśokan edicts was published by the Archaeological Survey of India as the inaugural volume of its prestigious *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* series. It was followed by a couple of other volumes comprising post-Aśokan Kharoṣṭhī (or Kharoṣṭī) and Gupta and allied inscriptions. In the last six decades or more only four more volumes comprising the epigraphs of the Vākātakas, Śīlāhāras, Paramāras and Candellas and those dated in the Kalacuri-Cedi era have been brought out. In view of the urgency of the matter for historical studies and with a view to supplement the *Corpus* series, the Indian Council of Historical Research has undertaken an ambitious programme of the publication of epigraphs dating from *circa* sixth to fourteenth century A.D., the chronological limits being flexible depending on the dynastic or regional necessities. Fortunately, despite certain handicaps the programme has recorded a steady progress and as many as five volumes covering the inscriptions of the Maukharis, Later

Guptas, Puṣṭabhūtiś, Yaśovarman of Kanauj, Pallavas, Western Gaṅgas, Gajapatis of Orissa, Śārabhapurīyas, Pāṇḍuvarṣins and Somavarṣins have already been published and a few other volumes are in the pipeline. The volumes released so far have received welcome response.

The present volume, second in the series of Orissan inscriptions, by Dr. Snigdha Tripathy, Epigraphist, Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, who is not new to the field of epigraphy, deals with the inscriptions of the Bhauma-Karas who played a pivotal role in the history of Orissa from the eighth to tenth century A.D. Dr. Tripathy has given us improved versions of the Bhauma-Kara records yielding some better and more dependable readings with a great bearing on this important phase in Orissan history which is thoroughly dwelt upon in the enlightening introduction. It is hoped that, like other already published volumes, the present tome also will be welcomed by discerning scholars.

Nagpur

Ajay Mitra Shastri
Convener,
Inscriptions of India Programme

PREFACE

Planned in 1973 under the “Inscriptions of India” programme, the Indian Council of Historical Research assigned the responsibility of recompiling the Orissan inscriptions to Dr. (Mrs.) Snigdha Tripathy in 1989. Promptly applying to this task, she not only recompiled but also revised several inscriptions published earlier. Her first volume titled *Inscriptions of Orissa* Vol. I (circa fifth-eight centuries A.D.) was published by the Council in 1997. It comprises inscriptions of Māṭharas, Vāsiṣṭhas, Piṭrabhaktas, Nalas, Śailōdbhavas as well as the inscriptions of the unknown royal families of southern, south-eastern, western, south-western and northern Orissa. Divided into five sections, this volume presents a classified list of sixty inscriptions, with their texts and abstracts. Dr. Tripathy has also discussed the significance of all these records in a comprehensive Introduction written for this Volume.

Following this, Dr. Tripathy prepared Volume II. This comprises twenty-four inscriptions of Bhauma-Kāras (with an addition of two newly discovered Somavarṁśi records) who ruled between the latter part of the eighth and the end of the tenth century A.D. As in volume one, this also contains an elaborate Introduction on Bhauma-Kara rule. As stated by her, several inscriptions issued by the feudatories of Bhauma-Karas are excluded from this volume as they are numerically far more than those of the main dynasty and, as such, deserve a separate treatment. The Council hopes to bring them out at some time later.

This volume was received from Dr. Tripathy in 1992, but due to some reasons it could not be published by the Council immediately. Realising the long and avoidable delay, and the disappointment that it should have caused to the scholars, I took steps to expedite the publication of this as well as other volumes under the project. The credit for planning this useful series goes to my illustrious predecessors. I have merely brought the project to its conclusion by getting the volume out of press. I am sure that this volume

(x)

would be welcome by both the editor as well as scholars who have been awaiting its publication for about a decade. I regret deeply the delay in the publication of this volume by the council.

Indian Council of Historical Research
New Delhi
10th August, 1999

(S. Settar)
CHAIRMAN

PREFACE

The present work forms the second volume of the Inscriptions of Orissa series and covers the period beginning with the rule of a line of kings known as the Bhaumas or the Bhauma-Karas who dominated the political scene of Orissa from the third decade of the 8th century to at least the fourth decade of the 10th century A.D. Epigraphic materials being the principal source of knowledge about the dynasty and the period of its rule, it has been felt necessary to collect and edit all the extant epigraphic records of the rulers of this dynasty into one volume which would no doubt be useful to those scholars whose field of research is the history and culture of Orissa of the early medieval period as a whole. Although valuable researches have already been made especially relating to the origin and chronology of the Bhauma-Karas, in the form of books and published papers, controversies still prevail among scholars and their differences of opinion have further complicated the subject. Moreover, their works, based on secondary sources, do not focuss any new light on the subject nor do they constitute anything very useful for the reconstruction of the history of this dynastic rule. This is mainly due to the fact that the epigraphic materials are not easily available to scholars for checking the reading of the texts prepared by earlier scholars. Further, poor decipherment and erroneous interpretation of the inscriptions, which constitute the original sources for the reconstruction of the history of the Bhauma-Karas, have made the subject more complicated and confusing.

A good number of stray articles on the inscriptions of the Bhauma-Karas have been published by scholars in different research journals which are not easily available to the students of and research scholars in Indian history and culture. This is an attempt, therefore, to make available to the scholarly world, all the extant epigraphic materials in a comprehensive volume, with their revised readings and up-to-date information on the history of the dynasty.

The study of the inscriptions of the Bhauma-Karas attracted the attention of the historians for the first time, with the discovery and publication of two copper plate grant Daṇḍimahādevī, a ruling princess of the dynasty, by F.

Kielhorn during 1900-1901 in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI. 133-142. Subsequently, scholars like H.P. Sastri, R.D. Banerji, N. Tripathi, H. Pandey, S.N. Rajaguru, D.C. Sircar and others edited and published some more inscriptions of the dynasty. But their knowledge of this dynasty was limited due to the paucity of the source materials. Binayak Misra, for the first time, during 1934 collected the published inscriptions in his book entitled *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings* with considerably improved readings of the texts and also added a few more epigraphic materials of the dynasty with his own readings. In spite of his endeavour to reconstruct the history of the Bhauma-Karas with materials available to him, his treatment of the subject remained as confusing and as controversial as before. Ever since, scholars like D.C. Sircar and many others have contributed to the study of the Bhauma-Karas and their times in different research journals and dealt with the vexed problems of the origin and chronology of the dynasty. Honest attempts have also been made relating to the study of the political and cultural history of the Bhauma-Karas by scholars like Biswarup Das and Umakanta Subuddhi in their respective books, *The Bhauma-Karas — The Buddhist Kings and their Times*, (Delhi, 1978) and *The Bhauma-Karas of Orissa*, (Calcutta, 1978). But the works are mainly based on the defective readings of the epigraphic records and the interpretations made by earlier scholars and do not therefore cast any new light on the subject.

The present work is broadly divided into two parts. The first part contains an introduction, which gives an outline and the different aspects of the history of the Bhauma-Karas, based exclusively on the available epigraphic records. Fresh observations have been made in regard to the problems of chronology and genealogy of the Bhauma-Karas which have remained controversial upto now, on the basis of fresh readings of the inscriptions. Besides, several new facts relating to socio-cultural and economic history of the period have been dealt with in this section.

The second part is exclusively devoted to the fresh reading and editing of the texts of the inscriptions of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty. An abstract of contents of each inscription has been given separately. Also given at the end appendix containing the reading of the text of a recently discovered copper-plate grant of the Somavamsin king Janamejaya I Mahābhavagupta, with an abstract of its contents, from the point of view of its great historical significance in the context of the history of the Bhauma-Karas. Facsimiles of some of the unpublished or inadequately published copper-plate charters of the Bhauma-Karas have been given at the end.

The numerous inscriptions of the feudatory rulers, such as the Tuṅgas,

the Śulkis, the Nandodbhavas, the Bhañjas, etc., who owed allegiance to the Bhauma-Karas for sometime, could not be incorporated in this volume, due to the fact that these inscriptions far exceed the number of that of their overlords and they would constitute at least two separate volumes.

This work was assigned to me by the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi of which this is the second volume. My thanks are due to the authorities of the Council for awarding me the privilege of preparing such a stupendous work. I take this opportunity to record my deep sense of gratitude to Prof. Ajay Mitra Shastri, Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, and Archaeology Nagpur University and the Convenor of the Inscriptions of India Programme of the Council, who set me on this privileged task of exploring the eipgraphic materials and under whose scholarly supervision, the work has been brought to light. It is no exaggeration to say that but for his keen interest and sympathy, the book would have never been prepared. I am also grateful to the authorities of the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar for kindly allowing me to utilise some of the original copper-plate grants preserved in the Museum in course of my study.

I have tried to make the work as comprehensive and cirtical as possible and I shall deem my labour to be duly rewarded if scholars find it useful.

Bhubaneswar
2.7.1992
Ratha yatra

Snigdha Tripathy

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AREP</i>	:	Annual Report on (Indian or South Indian) Epigraphy for 1964-65.
<i>ARIE</i>	:	Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for 1949-50.
<i>CBKSO</i>	:	<i>Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavamsis Orissa</i> , by K.C. Panigrahi.
<i>DHNI</i>	:	<i>The Dynastic History of Northern India</i> , Vol. I, by H.C. Ray.
<i>EI</i>	:	<i>Epigraphia Indica</i> .
<i>HCIP</i>	:	<i>History and Culture of Indian People</i> , Vol. II, Bombay.
<i>IA</i>	:	<i>Indian Antiquary</i> , Bombay.
<i>IHQ</i>	:	<i>Indian Historical Quarterly</i> .
<i>IEG</i>	:	<i>Indian Epigraphical Glossary</i> by D.C. Sircar.
<i>Ind. Ep.</i>	:	<i>Indian Epigraphy</i> , by D.C. Sircar.
<i>IO</i>	:	<i>Inscriptions of Orissa</i> , by S.N. Rajaguru; S.Tripathy.
<i>JAHRs</i>	:	<i>Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society</i> .
<i>JASB</i>	:	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i> , Calcutta.
<i>JBORS</i>	:	<i>Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society</i> , Patna.
<i>JESI</i>	:	<i>Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India</i> , Mysore.
<i>JKHRS</i>	:	<i>Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society</i> , Kalahandi.
<i>OHRJ</i>	:	<i>Orissa Historical Research Journal</i> , Bhubaneswar.
<i>OUBK</i>	:	<i>Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings</i> , by Binayak Misra.
<i>PIHC</i>	:	<i>Proceedings of the Indian History Congress</i> .
<i>Sel. Ins.</i>	:	<i>Select Inscriptions</i> , Vol. I, Bearing on the Indian History and Civilization, by D.C. Sircar.

PART I
INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The history of Orissa in the first half of the 8th century A.D. was characterised by the downfall of the Śailodbhava dynasty in Koṅgodamaṇḍala and the emergence of the dynasty called Bhauma-Kara in Tosali.¹ The political condition of Tosali helped the Bhauma-Karas to a great extent to establish and consolidate their rule in this region comprising Utkala², Odra³ and Koṅgoda. The kingdom of Tosali, soon after the downfall of the Mudgalas, passed under the control of Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa, sometime during A.D. 603-4. The Śailodbhavas under Mādhavarāja II Sainyabhīta⁴ of Koṅgodamaṇḍala acknowledge the suzerainty of Śaśāṅka. But they asserted independence soon after his death sometime in about A.D. 625 and carved out a kingdom of their own called Koṅgodamaṇḍala in the region of Dakṣiṇa Tosali. But the political history of Uttara Tosali during this period is shrouded in obscurity. In the absence of any direct evidence, it is sometimes believed, on the basis of the account left by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang, that

1. The Orissan epigraphic records indicate that since about 5th century A.D. onwards, Tosali was divided into two divisions, viz., Uttara (northern) Tosali and Dakṣiṇa (southern) Tosali, the river Mahānadī being the dividing line. The south-western part of Midnapore district in West Bengal and the Orissan districts of Balasore, Mayurbhanj, Dhenkanal, Cuttack and probably Keonjhar were included in the division of Uttara Tosali. Dakṣiṇa Tosali comprised the Orissan districts of Puri and northern part of Ganjam, situated to the south of the river Mahānadī. Parts of Puri and Ganjam districts formed the kingdom of Koṅgodamaṇḍala of the Śailodbhavas during the 7th and early part of 8th century A.D. which came again under the division of Dakṣiṇa Tosali during the rule of the Bhauma-Karas.
2. Utkala denoted the Orissan districts of Balasore and part of Mayurbhanj during about 7th century A.D. The Bhauma-Karas seldom refer to this geographical unit in their records. This was included in the division of Uttara Tosali of their kingdom.
3. Though the name of this geographical unit occurs in several epigraphic records of the earlier period and in some of those belonging to the subordinate kings of the time of the Bhauma-Karas, their own records are silent about this name presumably, it denoted the coastal district of Puri which came under the division of Dakṣiṇa Tosali during the Bhauma-Kara rule.
4. *EI*, VI, 143-46.

Harṣavardhana, the Puṣyabhūti king of Kanauj, invaded and subjugated Utkala and Kongoda, soon after Śaśānka's death in about A.D. 625. He might have taken the opportunity of the anarchy in Uttara Tosali. It is also believed that Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa, allied with Harṣa, defeated Śaśānka when the Chinese pilgrim visited Eastern India, sometime before A.D. 630. The Aihole inscription⁵ of the Western Cālukya king Pulakeśin II, on the other hand, makes us believe that Harṣa was defeated by this Cālukya king which might have occurred sometime after Harṣa and Bhāskaravarman's victory over Śaśānka. Harṣa's invasion of Orissa, however, was short-lived due to his death. Though no corroborative evidence is yet available, it may be presumed that Bhāskaravarman, who was an ally of Harṣa, might have brought Uttara Tosali under his control for some time, after the death of Harṣa. But, as it is known now, Bhāskaravarman died shortly after Harṣa's death and presumably, for this reason, anarchy pervaded the northern part of Orissa. In the absence of any unifying force during this period, the northern part of Orissa seemed to have been divided into several petty principalities. The fact that chaos and confusion pervaded Orissa as well as Bengal after the death of Harṣa and Bhāskaravarman, during the early part of eighth century A.D., is attested by the accounts left by the Tibetan Buddhist writer Tārānāth.⁶ According to his accounts, there was no king ruling the country. There is reason to believe that a group of petty chieftains and generals, who possibly came to Orissa in the train of Harṣa and Bhāskaravarman's invasion, might have occupied the small principalities, particularly in the region of Uttara Tosali. These chieftains and generals subsequently grew powerful, taking the opportunity of the feeble resistance offered by the local chiefs, and carved out a kingdom in Uttara Tosali. They claimed to have belonged to the family named Bhauma. Gradually they proceeded towards the southern parts of Orissa, conquered Kongoda-maṇḍala from the Śailodbhavas who were then in a state of decline, and other regions of Dakṣiṇa Tosali. Thus the state of anarchy in the northern Tosali might have fostered the rise of the Bhaumas who were originally Buddhists.

In this context we may refer to the settlements of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa families in the southern Kosala region (Bolangir-Sambalpur tract) in Orissa, who acknowledged the suzerainty of the Somavarṁśins of Kosala during ninth

5. Ibid, 1ff.

6. D. Chattopadhyaya (ed.), *Tārānātha's History of Buddhism in India*, 267-268; B.P. Sinha, *Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, 320.

century A.D. They are now known to have entered into the Orissan territory in the train of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion against the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar.⁷

There are controversies among scholars relating to the⁶origin⁷ of the dynasty of the Bhauma-Karas. The copper plate records of the family so far known to us refer to the members as to have belonged to the Bhauma-Kara family. It may be noted that the early copper-plate grants of the dynasty mention the family name as *Bhauma* whereas, in the later charters, the family name is mentioned as *Kara* and sometimes it is mentioned as both Bhauma and Kara.⁸ The latter name *Kara* have evidently been derived from the stereotyped ending of most of the names of the male members of the family. Some scholars are of the opinion that the Bhauma-Karas “were unorthodox and were possibly of non-Aryan origin”.⁹ Some even attribute their origin to an aboriginal tribe called Bhuyāns living in the hilly tracts of Orissa, the word *Bhuyān* being taken as a variant of Bhauma.¹⁰ It is also believed, on the ground of a reference in the Paśupatinātha temple inscription in Nepal, that king Harṣadeva of the Licchavi dynasty of Nepal conquered Gauḍa, Oḍra, Kalinga, Kosala and other countries. This Harṣadeva is generally identified with the king named Śrī Harṣa or Harṣavarman of the Sālāstambha dynasty of Assam.¹¹ But in the absence of corroborative evidences nothing can be said with any degree of certainty.

On the basis of Purāṇic evidences and epics, it is sometimes believed that the Bhaumas of Orissa were descendants of Naraka or Bhauma who was the son of lord Viṣṇu from the goddess Earth (*Bhūmi*) and thus named Bhauma who became the king of Prāgjyotiṣapura or Kāmarūpa in Assam. His son was Bhagadatta. The early kings of Kāmarūpa are believed to have claimed descent from Naraka and Bhagadatta.¹² But the Bhaumas of Orissa cannot be said definitely to have been the direct descendants of the Assam Bhaumas on the basis of a statement in the copper-plate charter of one of the Orissan Bhauma kings¹³ that the donor of this grant was the final

7. *OHRJ*, XXVIII, i & ii, 5-16.

8. No. 7.

9. K.C. Panigrahi, *History of Orissa*, pp. 66-67.

10. B. Misra, *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, 80-81.

11. *IA*, IX, 179; H.C. Ray, *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, I, 241; S.K. Chatterji, *The Place of Assam in the History and Civilisation of India*, pp. 29-30; P.C. Chaudhuri, *The History and Civilisation of the People of Assam*, 198-199; K.L. Barua, *Early History of Kāmarūpa*, 107.

12. *EI*, XV, 1-5ff.

13. No. 10, Lines 22-23.

incarnation of Bharata, Bhagadatta and Bhagīratha of Purāṇic and the legendary fame. They cannot, however, be taken as the original inhabitants of Orissa, belonging to an aboriginal stock called Bhuyān. In the light of the evidence that some parts of Bengal were under Kāmarūpa since the time of Bhāskaravarman,¹⁴ there is reason to believe that he might have allied with Harṣa of the Puṣyabhūti family, invaded the northern part of Orissa, taking the opportunity of the political turmoil in this region as spoken by Tārānāth. The generals and chieftains who accompanied them in this expedition might have occupied the region and settled in small principalities. The description of Harṣavarman in the Paśupatinatha temple inscription as the “lord of Guḍa, Oḍra, Kaliṅga, Kosala and other lands” may not be an exaggeration. He might have inherited at least the territories of Guḍa and Oḍra, though not Kaliṅga and Kosala, from Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa, after his death. The generals and petty chieftains who later on claimed to belong to the Bhauma family, remained as vassals of Bhāskaravarman or Harṣavarman of Kāmarūpa. They came to rule independently soon after the death of these Assamese kings and embarked on a policy of expansion from northern Orissa towards the southern region. It may be presumed, thus, that the establishment of power of the kings of Kāmarūpa after the death of Harṣavardhana of Kanauj was the origin of the Bhauma rule in Orissa. They were Buddhists during the early stage of their rule, probably at the instance of their overlord Harṣavardhana.

The epigraphic records form the principal source for the reconstruction of the history of Bhauma-Kara dynasty which dominated the political scene of Orissa for about two centuries. These records consist of copper-plate charters issued by kings and queens of the family, and the stone inscriptions engraved in different parts of their kingdom during the period of their rule. Of the total number of 24 epigraphic records of the Bhauma-Karas so far known to scholars, five are stone inscriptions, and 19 are copper-plate charters which provide us authentic and reliable facts relating to the history and culture of the kingdom they ruled. The five stone inscriptions are private records, though many important facts about the dynasty as well as of the kingdom have been furnished by them. They also corroborate the evidences from the copper-plate records of the dynasty.

All the copper-plate charters have been incised using single plate on both the sides. The incision is usually deep and the majority of these plates

14. P.L. Paul, *Early History of Bengal*, 29-32; B. Das, *The Bhauma-Karas and Their Times*, 35-36.

contain neatly and carefully cut letters.¹⁵ However, many of the records have become corroded due to weathering effect.¹⁶ The shape of the copper-plates is usually rectangular and the majority of them are large in size—the largest measuring about 45 cms in length and 20.5 cms in breadth.¹⁷ The other large Bhauma-Kara copper-plates are Hindol plate of Śubhākara IV,¹⁸ measuring 39 × 32 cms, the Talcher plate of Śubhākara V,¹⁹ and the plates of Śivakara IV,²⁰ measuring respectively 36 × 31 cms and 36 × 28 cms. The majority of copper-plate charters of the Bhauma-Kara princess Daṇḍimahādevī and her successors are also large in size : about 34 × 26 cms. The Terundia plate of Śubhākara III²¹ is 40.5 × 21 cms. The grant of Vakulamahādevī²² measures 32 × 25.5 cms. It is to be noted that most of the male rulers of the family issued larger plates than those issued by the queens and the princess of the dynasty. The only exception is to be noticed in the case of the Chaurasi plate²³ of Śivakara II (measuring 20.3 × 13.5 cms.) who is known to be one of the early members of the family.

The general appearance of the plate is also interesting to note. It is divided into two parts vertically at the middle. The end of each part has been made in the shape of dove-tail with four projections and four depressions, so that both parts can be joined together in the middle, supported by each other.

The *script* used in the records is generally taken to be the eastern variety of north Indian alphabet, prevalent during eighth and ninth centuries of the Christian era. The palaeography of these inscriptions generally corroborates the date or the era mentioned in them.

The most common palaeographic peculiarity to be noticed in the Bhauma-Kara records is the confusion between *v* and *b*. This confusion was also the usual feature of the earlier records as is evident from the study of the epigraphs generally assigned to about the last part of seventh and the beginning of the eighth centuries A.D.²⁴ Another significant point in regard to

15. Nos. 11, 12, 13, 14, 16.

16. Nos. 3, 7, 9, 19, 23 etc.

17. No. 4.

18. No. 8.

19. No. 10.

20. Nos. 11 and 12.

21. No. 7.

22. No. 21.

23. No. 3.

24. Cf. the inscriptions of the Śailodbhavas in *EI*, VI, 43-46 and plate; VII, 100ff. and plate; XXX, 264-268 and plate etc.

palaeography of these inscriptions is the confusion between the medial signs of *u* and *ū*, which is also the characteristic of the Orissan inscriptions of the period under discussion. This confusion is usually noticed in the numerical symbols, incised according to the ancient system denoting numbers in letters. The symbol for one hundred which is generally depicted as *lu* has been confused with the symbol for two hundred, i.e., *lū* in the copper plate charters of Daṇḍimahādevī.²⁵

The confusion between the letters *h* and *bh* is also another peculiarity in respect of palaeography which has been noticed in the majority of the copper-plate records of the dynasty.²⁶ The name of *Kusumahāra*²⁷ is sometimes written as *Kusumabhāra*.²⁸ Similarly, *Lalitahāra* has been written as *Lalitabhāra*²⁹ and *Rahasavardhana* as *Rabhasavardhana*.³⁰

Marks of *avagraha* have been used in many of the copper-plate inscriptions.³¹ Final *m* is sometimes depicted as a small *m* with a slanting stroke below the right serif as seen usually in the present practice of writing.³² Similar is the case with the final *t*.³³ Sometimes, the medial *ā* has been shown over the letter.³⁴

Sometimes, it has been noticed that the inscription on a particular charter is incised by two different persons. The letters from line 2-7 on the obverse of the Kumurang plate of Daṇḍimahādevī³⁵ have been very indifferently incised. They are found to have been very lightly engraved in comparison with the writings on the rest of the lines in that charter. The latter scribe seems to be more of an expert, as his writing is incised neatly and deeply. Similar practice is also noticed in the engravings of the Neulpur plate of Śubhākara II.³⁶ The first 29 lines of this record have been carefully and neatly incised, whereas the remaining 15 lines are found to have been carelessly written and are full of errors. R.D. Banerji, the editor of the charter,

25. Nos. 16 and 20.

26. Nos. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, etc.

27. Nos. 13, 14, 18 and 20.

28. Nos. 13, 16, 17, etc.

29. Nos. 14, 16, 17, 19 and 20.

30. No. 15.

31. Nos. 8, 11, 12, 14, 20, etc.

32. No. 20, lines 15, 19, etc.

33. No. 20, lines 15, 19, etc.

34. No. 8, lines 19, 20, 21, 22, 38, etc.

35. No. 20.

36. No. 4.

has remarked on the basis of the forms of letters in the remaining 15 lines that the writing is of “current hand of the period, showing the forms used by scribes, while the script used in the first 29 lines is the epigraphic script”.³⁷

The script used in the Chaurasi grant of Śivakara II³⁸ appears to be of a later period. It differs considerably from that used in other records of his successors. This is also corroborated by the use of the numerical figures according to the decimal system, while furnishing the date of the charter.

The *language* of all these records is Sanskrit, though it is, sometimes, not free from defects, so far as grammatical and orthographical features are concerned. The texts of these inscriptions are written both in verse as well as in prose. Some of the earliest copper-plate grants of the dynasty³⁹ are composed in prose excepting only the imprecatory and benedictory verses at the end.

In respect of *orthography*, the influence of local Oriya dialects in these records can often be noticed. Such Oriya words like *goheri*, *vāgha*, *khāta*, etc. are found in the Hindol plate of Śubhākara IV and the Talcher plate of Śivakara IV.⁴⁰ Sometimes, the expression *peṭakapāla* (keeper of the records) has been written in local Prakrit as *peḍāpāla* or *peṭāpāla*.⁴¹ Sometimes *goheri* has been Sanskritised as *goherikā*.⁴² The expression in Oriya denotes the path for cattle through a paddy field. The word is still in use in the Orissan villages. There are some local Prakrit words in the Ganjam grant of Daṇḍimahādevī⁴³ which are difficult to interpret. Of them, the expression *gāḍi* in the specification of the boundaries of the gift village, may perhaps denote the Sanskrit *gartta* or a pit. Another interesting Oriya word *payāḍa* is to be seen in the Kumurang plate of Daṇḍimahādevī⁴⁴ the meaning of which is not clear, but possibly denotes a pond or a tank. *Uśvattha* for *aśvattha* is written in the Hindol plate⁴⁵ of Śubhākara IV.

The use of final *m* instead of *anusvāra* is frequently met with in the Bhauma-Kara records.⁴⁶ The sign for *ṇ* is found to have been frequently

37. *El*, XV, 2.

38. No. 3.

39. Nos. 3 and 4.

40. Nos. 8 and 11.

41. Nos. 4, 7, 11, 12, etc.

42. No. 14, line 48.

43. No. 17.

44. No. 20.

45. No. 8.

46. No. 22.

used in almost all the copper-plate charters. *Haṇsa* instead of *haṁsa* is written in the Neulpur plate of Śubhākara II,⁴⁷ *vaṇśa* for *vaṁśa* in the Angul plate of Dhamamahādevī.⁴⁸ Influence of local pronunciation has been noticed in *māhā* for *mahā* in the Ganjam grant of Daṇḍimahādevī;⁴⁹ *uttrāyana* for *uttarāyana* in another grant of the same queen.⁵⁰ The letter *ṛ* is replaced by *ri* in some cases: e.g. *riṣikeśa* for *ṛṣikeśa*; *riṣiṇāga* for *ṛṣiṇāga*;⁵¹ *pitribhiḥ* for *pitṛbhiḥ*; *virdhaya* for *vrddhaya*,⁵² etc.

The royal *seal* attached to the copper-plate charters of the dynasty is usually designed in the form of an expanded lotus, on the circular pericarpial portion of which are carved, on the counter-sunk surface, the emblems of the sun, the moon, a conch-shell and a couchant bull facing proper right. In the lower part of this circular space another expanded lotus is depicted. Between the bull and this lotus is the legend giving the name of the issuer of the charter. The seals attached to the plate issued by earlier members of the family depict only the emblem of the couchant bull and the legend giving the name of the respective issuers. The Chaurasi grant of Śivakara II⁵³ bears no legend, but a couchant bull is visible on the seal attached to the charter. The Neulpur grant of Śubhākara II⁵⁴ bears the seal with the emblem of a couchant bull with the legend giving the name of the issuer of the record. The seal attached to the Terundia plate of Śubhākara III⁵⁵ is round on the surface without lotus petals. On the counter-sunk surface, the impression of a couchant bull in low relief is only visible, which is like that of the Chaurasi plate. But the seals attached to the charters of Śubhākara IV⁵⁶ differ considerably from the above seals of the family in respect of the emblem and legend. While the seals of the above rulers do not bear legend reading the name of the respective issuers, which are circular in shape without lotus petals, the seals attached to the two copper-plates of the aforesaid king Śubhākara IV, are in the shape of full-blown lotus and contain the legend reading *Śrī-Śubhākaradevasya*. The emblems on the counter-sunk surface

47. No. 4.

48. No. 22, lines 7 and 11.

49. No. 17, lines 39 and 40.

50. No. 18, line 32.

51. No. 4, line 17, 19.

52. No. 17, line 38; No. 18, line 33.

53. No. 3.

54. No. 4.

55. No. 7.

56. Nos. 8 and 9.

of his seal represent in relief, as stated above, the couchant bull facing to the left and above this there are crescent and a dot representing the sun and the moon and a conch. The seals of his successors represent the same symbols excepting the respective legends.

The seals of the two queen, Tribhuvanamahādevī I and Pṛthvīmahādevī *alias* Tribhuvanamahādevī II ⁵⁷ are practically the same as that of Śubhākara IV. The circular seal is in the form of a lotus. The counter-sunk surface is enclosed within the rows of petals. At the bottom of the sunken surface, another double petalled open lotus is carved out in relief. Above it is the legend *Tribhuvanamahādevyāḥ* neatly carved in relief. The lower portion of the subscript *y* in *vyā* is drawn out to form two horizontal lines below the legend. Above the legend there is the usual figure of a couchant bull and other symbols as well as two flora designs, one in the front and the other at the back of the bull as we find in the three Talcher plates of Śubhākara V and Śivakara IV respectively.⁵⁸ The same type of seal has been found with the copper-plate grants of the princess of the family named Daṇḍimahādevī,⁵⁹ though the type of seals used by the last two queens who succeeded her to the throne, are not yet known.⁶⁰

From the above observation, it is quite clear that two varieties of royal seal were used by the ruling members of the Bhauma-Kara family. The first or the earlier variety is without legend, containing only the emblem of a couchant bull. The circular seal of this variety is without any floral design. Though the seals of this variety, three of which are so far known and already described above, are corroded, not trace of any legend is to be found in any of them. On the other hand, the seals used Śubhākara IV and his successors, up to the end of this dynastic rule, were changed into the shape of a full-blown lotus, and symbols as well as the legend as described above, are found neatly carved in relief. It may be taken to suggest that after the reign of Śubhākara II when the Bhauma-Kara family was divided into two branches between his two sons (viz., Śivakara III and Śāntikara I representing the elder and younger branches respectively) the elder branch retained the earlier variety as revealed by the seal used in the charter of Śubhākara III, son of Śivakara III, while the younger branch adopted the later modified type which continued to be used till the downfall of the dynasty. This modification was, presumably, to distinguish the existence of two houses. It

57. Nos. 13, 14 and 15.

58. Nos. 10, 11 and 12.

59. Nos. 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20.

60. Nos. 21, 22 and 23.

is also known from the political history of the family, as will be discussed later, that after Śubhākara III, the rule of the elder branch came to an end and the members of the younger branch dominated the political scene during the period under discussion.

The ancient practice of expressing *numerical symbols* without cipher is usually noticed in the use of numbers while furnishing dates in the Bhauma-Kara records. The numerical symbols for 100 and 200 have been written as *lu* and *lū* respectively as are usually found in the inscriptions of other royal families of eastern India during the period of seventh-eighth centuries. The numerical symbols for 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 30, 40, 50, 60 and 80 have been found in the Bhauma records. But we have also sometimes noticed confusion in the expression of numerical symbols between *lu* and *lū* for 100 and 200 respectively. The Śāntiragrāma charter of Daṇḍimahādevī⁶¹ has *lu* denoting 200 which is evidently a mistake for *lū*, by the scribe-engraver. In other charters⁶² of this queen, the symbol for 100 has been clearly written as *lu* or *lva*. This confusion can be attributed to the inadvertance of the scribe who has also wrongly used the medial sign of *u* and *ū* at several places of the charter.

In the later part of the Bhauma-Kara rule, the epigraphic records of the dynasty show considerable influence of the decimal system of writing numerals. From about the last part of the ninth century, the decimal system of writing numerals has become popular in different parts of the country and also in some parts of Orissa.⁶³ The copper-plate grant of Vakulamahādevī,⁶⁴ the last known dated record of the dynasty, clearly shows the influence of decimal system. The year of the grant has been written as 200.0.4. The first symbol is written according to the old system showing the letter *lū*. But between this symbol and the symbol denoting 4, a cipher has been engraved. Possibly, the scribe of the aforesaid record was aware of the system of writing decimal numerals, but confused it with the old numerical symbols. The date of the record thus is a mixture of the old numerical symbols and the decimal figure.

Scholars have referred to such use of cipher along with old numerical symbols in some of the early records of the Bhauma-Karas. In the Terundia

61. No. 16.

62. Nos. 19 and 20.

63. *EI*, VIII, 138-143; XXIII, 248-255; III, 345-351 etc; the Somavamśins in Kosala region, at least from the time of Janamejaya I Mahābhavagupta are known to have adopted decimal system of writing numerals.

64. *EI*, XXXVI, 307-312 and plate; No. 21.

plate of Śubhākara III⁶⁵, D.C. Sircar has noticed a cipher which is said to have been preceded by a numerical symbol representing one hundred, “apparently indicating the absence of ten and unit elements in the number”. But in the said record, when examined from the original plate, we have not found any such cipher following the numerical symbol *lu* for 100. It is actually a corroded mark, not round in shape, which has been mistaken for the symbol of a cipher. Similarly, in the Hindol plate⁶⁶ of Śubhākara IV also, Sircar has noticed a cipher following a numerical symbol for 100. But in the original plate, no such cipher representing the 10th place in the date portion has been found.

It is interesting to note that in one of the earliest records of the family, i.e., the Chaurasi plate of Śivakara II which is dated in the year 12, the decimal figures have been used while enumerating the date. It has been noticed while discussing about its palaeography that the scripts of the record are of late period. It seems to have been re-engraved or copied at a late period of about tenth century A.D., when the practice of using decimal figures had already replaced the old system of writing numerical symbols. It is to be noted that similar decimal figures for 12 have been found in the Nagpur Museum plates of the Somavāṁśin king Janamejaya I Mahābhavagupta⁶⁷. The aforesaid inscription of Śivakara II would give us the impression that it is a later copy from the original by an inadvertant engraver who had little or no knowledge of the earlier scripts and numbers for which several errors crept in.

The inscriptions of the Bhauma-Karas are *dated* in an *unspecified era*. They furnish us with a series of years, about the epoch of which scholars have divergent opinions. Misreadings and defective interpretations of the relevant portions of the inscriptions as well as of the numerical symbols indicating date have resulted in the controversies about the determination of the commencement of the era used by the Bhauma-Karas and have made it difficult to reconstruct a comprehensive history of the dynasty. The series of dates starting from the year 12 and ending with the year 204 without any wide gap, found not only in the records of the Bhauma-Karas, but also in the inscriptions of their contemporary royal families, acknowledging their supremacy, such as the Bhañjas of Khijjīṅgakotṭa and Khiñjalimaṇḍala, the Śulkis of Kodālakamaṇḍala, the Nandodbhavas of Airāvattamaṇḍala, the

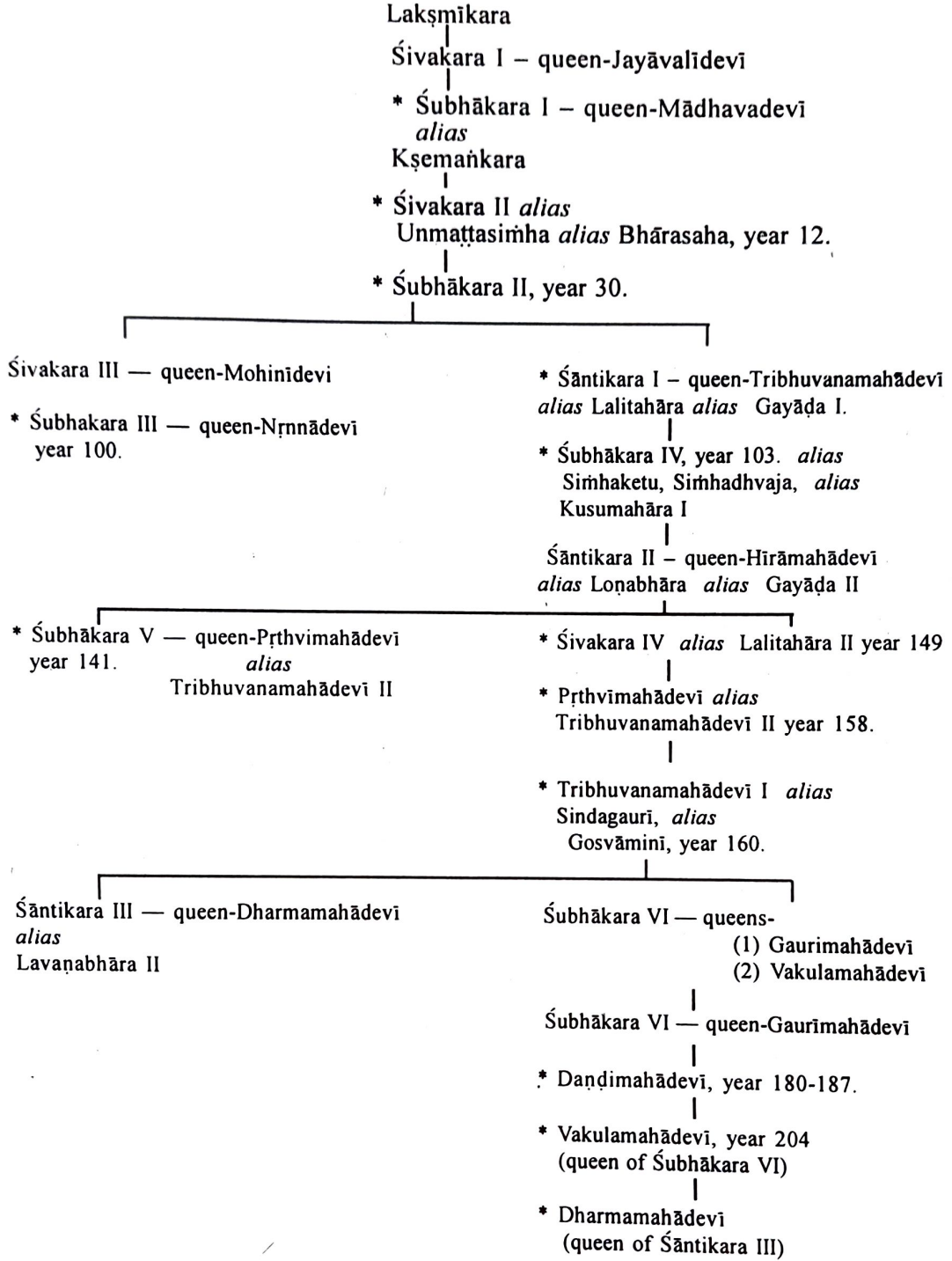
65. *EI*, XXVIII, 212ff and plate; No. 7.

66. *JBORS*, XVI, 69-83 and plate; No. 8.

67. *EI*, VIII, 138-143 and plate.

Tuṅgas of Yamagarttamaṇḍala, etc. These inscriptions would clearly indicate that the dates were recorded in a particular era. Since the earliest and the latest years have been found in the inscriptions of the Bhauma-Karas and they enjoyed the status of sovereignty as revealed by the internal evidences of their records, there is reason to believe that the era was introduced by them. It was a case of continuous reckoning of the regnal years of the first historical king of the dynasty, which was followed by his successors. But the vexed problem of the chronology of the dynasty can best be dealt with by tracing their genealogy at the outset, as gleaned from their epigraphic records. Although earlier scholars have worked out the genealogy on the basis of all available records, they have overlooked certain important points, which have remained as confused and enigmatic as before. Moreover, defective reading of date in some of the inscriptions has also further complicated the subject. From the study of all the extant records of the Bhauma-Karas, it is observed that the genealogy of the family is as enigmatic as its chronology. The palaeography of the Bhauma-Kara inscriptions, too, cannot be relied upon in order to fix the chronology of the family for, as has been observed above, some of the epigraphs are of late engravings.

The beginning of the Bhauma-Kara rule in Orissa has been determined by scholars on the basis of the unspecified era occurring in their inscriptions as well as in the records of their feudatories. These inscriptions can be re-arranged here according to the dates mentioned therein, so as to work out a correct genealogy and the chronology of the dynasty. Though previous scholars attempted to reconstruct the genealogy on the basis of their respective reading and interpretation of the dates, no definite conclusion has yet been arrived at in this regard, and still it is a subject of controversy. The order of succession of the rulers mentioned in the inscriptions has been arranged here in a table below. The ruling members of the dynasty with asteriks are known to have issued copper-plate grants or epigraphic records of their own.



The earliest record, referring to the name of the family as Bhauma and the king Śubhākara with his queen named Mādhavadevī, is a stone inscription⁶⁸ now embedded in the inner side of the rear wall of the Haṁseśvara temple at Jajpur in the Cuttack district. This Bhauma king was possibly Śubhākara I according to the above genealogical table. But,

68. No. 1.

Lakṣmīkara, a shadowy figure, has been found mentioned in three of the later records of the family⁶⁹ as to be one of the earliest ruling members. His relationship with Śubhākara I and his predecessor Śivakara I is not known from these records. Hardly anything is known about him from any source. On the other hand, another early member of the family named Kṣemaṅkara, described as the grandfather of Śubhākara II, is found mentioned in the Neulpur grant.⁷⁰ Scholars tried to identify Kṣemaṅkara with Lakṣmīkara of the aforesaid three later records.⁷¹ Others have taken Lakṣmīkara as father of Kṣemaṅkara.⁷² It is to be noted that the name of Kṣemaṅkara as the earliest member or the founder of the family has not been found in any other record, excepting the Neulpur charter which apparently identifies him with Śubhākara I who may be the same as the Bhauma-Kara king mentioned in the Haṁseśvara temple inscription. It is also to be noted that the name Lakṣmīkara as a remote ancestor of the issuers of the Terundia⁷³, Hindol⁷⁴, and Dharakote⁷⁵ plates is not found in the earlier records. The conspicuous absence of his reference in the records earlier than the above three would induce us to believe that his name was a later fabrication by these later members of the family.

Thus Kṣemaṅkara, evidently same as Śubhākara I, was the first known historical king of the family to be referred to in a contemporary record of his time, besides being mentioned in the records of his immediate successors. It is known from the records of his successors that he was the son of Śivakara I and Jayāvalīdevī. Apart from the Haṁseśvara temple inscription of his time, his son's copper-plate charter reveals that Mādhavadevī was his queen. According to the Haṁseśvara temple inscription, the queen Mādhavadevī built a temple for lord Śiva which was named after her as Mādhaveśvara. Some scholars have taken the name of the queen as Mādhavīdevī,⁷⁶ but in the Chaurasi plate⁷⁷ of her son as well as in the above record of her own

69. Nos. 7, 8 and 9.

70. No. 4.

71. R.C. Majumdar (ed), *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, 64; *EI*, XXVIII, 123; B. Das, *The Bhauma-Karas and their Times*, 40; U.K. Subuddhi, *The Bhauma-Karas of Orissa*, 40; K.C. Panigrahi, *History of Orissa*, 75.

72. B. Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, 71.

73. No. 7.

74. No. 8.

75. No. 9.

76. *Ibid*, 8; U.K. Subuddhi, *The Bhauma-Karas of Orissa*, 65.

77. No. 3.

time the name has been clearly written as Mādhavadevī. She is stated in her record to have excavated a *vāpi*, i.e., a stepped well near the said temple of Mādhaveśvara and appointed one *ācārya* (pontif) for conducting worship of the deity. It appears from the text of the inscription that the stepped well was probably re-excavated after the death of Mādhavadevī, presumably by an officer of the Bhauma royal court. She is also stated in the inscription to have established a market near the temple constructed during her time.

Important historical facts relating to Śubhākara I *alias* Kṣemaṅkara, husband of Mādhavadevī, have been revealed by the records of his son and grandson. He has been honoured with the full sovereign titles of *paramabhaṭṭaraka*, *mahārājādhirāja* and *parameśvara* in the Chaurasi grant. He has been endowed with the secondary name of Kṣemaṅkaradeva in the grant of his grandson. In this grant he has been endowed with the Buddhist religious title of *paramopāsaka*. But scholars are inclined to indentify this king with the issuer of the Neulpur grant, dated in the Bhauma year 30. This is due to the fact that they have ignored the genealogical list furnished in the Chaurasi grant, issued by Śivakara II, son of Śubhākara I. Moreover, the doubtful reading of the numerical symbols denoting the date of issue of the Chaurasi and the Neulpur plates have also misled the scholars in regard to the identification of the two kings of the same name. As already pointed out, the Chaurasi grant contains the numerals of the decimal system, reading the year 12 which has been wrongly read by previous scholars⁷⁸ as the year 73. Further, the date of the Neulpur grant has been variantly read⁷⁹ due to which the genealogy of the Bhauma-Kara kings reconstructed by different scholars has become more complicated.

The epigraphic records of the period when Śubhākara I flourished are, unfortunately, not dated which would have enabled us to determine the beginning of this dynastic rule. An inscribed Buddhist image of Avalokiteśvara, attributed to the period of his rule, is now known⁸⁰ which enables us to glean facts relating to the religious condition of his kingdom. In the Neulpur

78. B. Misra, *OUBK*, 8-9; *JBORS*, XIV, ii, 296-306, N. Tripathi, the editor of the grant, read the numerals as 13.

79. B. Misra, *OUBK*, 1-7; he read the two symbols as 50. 4, taking the final *t* of the previous word *samvat* as the symbol for 50. But there is only one numerical symbol which quite clearly resembles the symbol for 30 (cf. G.H. Ojha, *Inidan Palaeography*, (Hindi), Plates, LXXII and LXXIII); D.C. Sircar has taken this symbol tentatively as 70 and the issuer of the grant as Śubhākara I (*EI*, XXIX, 81 ff.).

80. No. 2.

grant of his grandson, he is stated to have brought reforms in the existing four orders of the caste system in the society, though he is said to be a follower of Buddhist faith.

From the genealogy furnished by the Chaurasi grant, it is known that Śivakara I was the father of Śubhākara I and his queen was Jayāvalidevī. The reference to the queen Jayāvalidevī has not yet been found in any other record of the family. Śivakara I, whose reference is found only in the aforesaid grant of his grandson, was probably a contemporary and a subordinate ruler under Harṣa or Bhāskaravarman. Presumably, he founded a small principality in Uttara Tosali, when the Śailodbhavas were ruling in Koṅgodamaṇḍala but in a state of decline. He probably declared independence taking the opportunity of the chaos and confusion that followed in Bengal and Orissa after the death of Bhāskaravarman and embarked on a policy of expansion southwards and conquered Koṅgodamaṇḍala from the Śailodbhavas. Unfortunately, no record of this king is so far known to the scholarly world. He may have been the earliest historical king of the Bhauma dynasty. But nothing can be said definitely about his association with the introduction of the Bhauma era or the continuous regnal reckoning. It is to be noted that the Chaurasi grant of his grandson does not credit him with any such imperial title indicating his status of sovereignty.

The Haimseśvara temple inscription of the time of his son Śubhākara I, on the other hand, would make us believe that he was an independent king and probably the real maker of the fortunes of the family to which he belonged. Śivakara I has been endowed in the grant of his grandson with the epithet which seems to read *mahān-Utkalendra* (the great king of Utkala).

The past tense used in the Haimseśvara temple inscription, while describing Śubhākara I, would tend to suggest that he was dead by the time when this record was incised. This is the only record of the Bhauma-Kara family which has been found in the place now identified with the capital or the chief city of the dynasty, which will be discussed later on.

The earliest copper-plate charter of the dynasty, known so far, is the Chaurasi grant issued by Śivakara II (the second king of this name), son of Śubhākara I and Mādhavadevī of the Haimseśvara temple inscription. According to the genealogy furnished by this charter, Śivakara II was the grandson of Śivakara I and Jayāvalidevī. Only one charter of this king is known to have been discovered so far. It is stated to have been issued from a locality called Guhadeva-*pāṭikā*, apparently the principal seat of administration of the dynasty. All the extant copper-plate grants of the family,

as will be shown below, are known to have been issued from this place which has been identified with the present locality of Jajpur and its vicinity in the district of Cuttack.

Śivakara II has been endowed with the full imperial titles of *paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *mahārājādhirāja* and *parameśvara* and said to have belonged to the Bhauma family. Though the names of his mother (Mādhavadevī) and grandmother (Jayāvalidevī) have been mentioned in his charter, the name of his own queen has been omitted.

As has been discussed earlier, the charter is a later copy of the original one, which is known from the internal as well as external evidences furnished by it. The numerous errors found in the text and indifferent writings by the engraver, together with the use of decimal figures in furnishing the date of the issue of the charter, would induce us to doubt about its genuineness. But the corroborative evidences furnished by other records of the dynasty about the existence of the line of kings and queens mentioned in the charter would also induce us to accept it as a genuine one.

Besides his own charter, Śivakara II has been referred to frequently in the copper-plate grants of his successors. The Neulpur grant of his son Śubhākara, the second king of that name in the dynasty, refers to his name as Bhārasaha (one who is capable of carrying the load or responsibility), along with his coronation name Śivakara. He has been endowed with the Buddhist religious title of *paramatathāgata* which is not to be found in his own grant.

Another name or epithet for this king is found in the later records of his successors describing him as *Unmaṭṭasimha* or *Unmaṭṭakeśarin* meaning, literally, "the ferocious lion". Though scholars have indentified *Unmaṭṭasimha* with Śivakara I, due to the fact already mentioned above, the evidences furnished by these later records would suggest the epithet for Śivakara II. The two Talcher grants⁸¹ of Śivakara, the fourth king of that name in the genealogy of the family, refer to Śivakara II as *Unmaṭṭasimha* and grandiloquently describe his achievements. These two charters also trace the genealogy of the family from *Unmaṭṭasimha*, indicating thereby that he was the real maker of the fortunes of the Bhauma-Kara kingdom. In these two grants *Unmaṭṭasimha* is stated to have forcibly taken away the daughter of the king of Rāḍhā. The south-western part of Bengal (West Bengal) was generally known as Rāḍhā⁸² which also seems to have comprised

81. Nos. 11 and 12.

82. D.C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, 170, 217.

Daṇḍabhuktimāṇḍala as one of its geographical units during the early medieval period. It is known from the epigraphic records of the earlier period, i.e., during the reign of Śaśāṅka of Gaḍa (Gaḍa being a part of Rāḍhā country), that Daṇḍabhukti was included in his empire and one of the feudatories named Somadatta was in charge of it together with Utkala⁸³ (i.e., the coastal districts of Balasore, Keonjhar) Mayurbhanj in Orissa. The later records⁸⁴ of the Bhauma-Karas would reveal that Daṇḍabhuktimāṇḍala was a part of their kingdom. There is reason to believe on the basis of the reference to the Rāḍhā country and its king in the Bhauma-Kara inscriptions, that there existed some feuds on the possession of this geographical unit between the two kingdoms of Rāḍhā and Tosali, since the death of Śaśāṅka and subsequently Harṣa and Bhāskaravarman. Śivakara II *alias* Unmaṭṭasimha or Unmaṭṭakeśarin probably took the opportunity of political turmoil that followed after the death of Bhāskaravarman and annexed Daṇḍabhukti into his kingdom. The name of the Rāḍhā king whom he defeated in the battle is, however, not known from any source, nor the name of his daughter whom he forcibly took away and presumably married. Scholars are inclined to indentify the Rāḍhā princess with Jayāvalidevī who is mentioned in the copper-plate record of the king under discussion, as the queen of his grandfather Śivakara I. It may be pointed out here that Śivakara II does not mention the name of his queen in his own charter, nor have we found her name in any of the records of his successors.

Reference to Śivakara II as Unmaṭṭakeśarin is known from a copper-plate charter of a contemporary king of the Gaṅga family of Śvetaka in the Ganjam region of Orissa.⁸⁵ The kingdom of Śvetaka comprised the area contiguous to the kingdom of Koṅgodamaṇḍala of the Śailodbhavas during the earlier period and ruled by a branch of the early Eastern Gaṅga dynasty of Kaliṅganagara. The capital or the main seat of administration of this line of kings was the locality called Śvetaka which has been indentified with the present Chikitigaḍa situated under Chikiti *taluk* in the Ganjam district. This copper-plate charter of Jayavarmadeva records that one *rāṇaka* Viṣavārṇava, who was a feudatory king of Koṅgodamaṇḍala, granted a village situated in Varttani-*viṣaya* of Koṅgodamaṇḍala during the reign of Unmaṭṭakeśarin to a Brāhmaṇa named *bhaṭṭa*-Nannāṭa *mahattara*. The order for the said grant seems to have been declared at Virajā, the well-known centre of pilgrimage

83. *JASB Letters*, XI, 3-8.

84. Nos. 13 and 14.

85. *IHQ*, XII, 489-93 ff; S.N. Rajaguru, *IO*, II, 258-263.

or the present township of Jajpur in the Cuttack district. The charter also records another grant, stated to have been issued from Śvetaka by *mahārāja* Jayavarmadeva, the “the lord of the entire kingdom of Kalinga” and who is stated to have been an ornament of the Gaṅga family and to have granted the same locality to the same donee in the year 20. Both the donors are said to have obtained permission for granting lands in Koṅgodamaṇḍala from Unmaṭṭakeśarin while staying at Virajā. The date is furnished, obviously, in the era introduced by the Bhauma-Karas. It is evident from this record that by the Bhauma year 20 Koṅgodamaṇḍala was already included in the dominions of the Bhaumas which was previously the kingdom of the Śailodbhavas. The date of this grant has, however, been doubtfully read by scholars⁸⁶ as the year 50. The Bhauma year 12 mentioned in his own charter would suggest that Śivakara II was the overlord of *rāṇaka* Viṣavārṇava of Koṅgodamaṇḍala as well as a contemporary of *mahārāja* Jayavarmadeva of Śvetaka. The date of this charter has been wrongly read⁸⁷ as the year 73. But, as already pointed out earlier, the year has been written according to the decimal system as 12 instead of the usual Bhauma numerals as 10. 2. Coincidentally, the number of the day of the month has also been written as *dvādasī* (the 12th *tithi*). The use of decimal figures, together with the defective introductory passage with numerous errors, raises suspicion about the genuineness of the record. But the reference to the parents of Śivakara II as Śubhākara (I) and his queen Mādhavadevī as per the Hāmseśvara temple inscription, would induce us to accept it as a later copy of the original one. It is generally believed that Jayavarmadeva of the early Gaṅga family of Śvetaka was a feudatory king under Śivakara II Unmaṭṭakeśarin of Virajā as it is said to have been recorded in the above-mentioned copper-plate charter of this king. But it is to be noted that the charter in question actually records two grants made by two kings viz., *rāṇaka* Viṣavārṇava, the feudatory ruler of Koṅgodamaṇḍala, and by *mahārāja* Jayavarmadeva, apparently an independent or semi-independent king of the Gaṅga family of Śvetaka. Both of them issued the grants to the same donee. Jayavarmadeva has been described to have acquired the whole of the kingdom of Kalinga on his own valour (*sva-bhuja-bala-parākaram-ākṛānta-vīrya-sakala-Kaliṅg-ādhirājya*). The record tends to indicate that

86. Ibid, XII, 490ff; *HCIP*, IV, 66, R.C. Majumdar, however, read the numeral as 20.

87. B. Misra, *OUBK*, 9ff; *JBORS*, XIV, 292-306, N. Tripathi read the numerals as 13.

he was supposed to request for granting land to Unmaṭṭakeśarin of Virajā as well as to his subordinate, *rāṇaka* Viṣavārṇava in Koṅgodamaṇḍala. The declaration of the grant made by *rāṇaka* Viṣavārṇava has been recorded first at the beginning of the charter wherein the name of Unmaṭṭakeśarin has been mentioned, apparently indicating the overlord of Viṣavārṇava. The place of issue of this grant is stated to have been Virajā (*Virajasi*). This is followed by the second grant issued by *mahārāja* Jayavarmadeva from his capital Śvetaka (Svetak-ādhiṣṭhānād-) in favour of the same donee. Viṣavārṇava is stated to have obtained permission from his overlord Unmaṭṭakeśarin at Virajā, and presumably also for the grant of Jayavarmadeva who does not refer to the name of this Bhauma king in his grant portion. It is interesting to note that both the grants were declared on the occasion of a solar eclipse during the month of Phālguna. But the charter was recorded in the year 20, on the 3rd day of the bright fortnight of the month of Vaiśākha (April-May). This would indicate that, both the grants were declared at Virajā when Viṣavārṇava and Jayavarmadeva were on pilgrimage to that holy place. The grant of Jayavarmadeva seems to have been a sale deed. Possibly, he purchased a plot of land in the village situated in the said *viṣaya* (district) of Koṅgodamaṇḍala, from Viṣavārṇava, the feudatory of Unmaṭṭakeśarin of Virajā. It is also possible to think that Jayavarmadeva was a semi-independent ruler of Śvetaka acknowledging the suzerainty of the early Bhauma-Kara rulers of Tosali. But there is no such definite evidence at the present state which may induce us to believe that the Gaṅgas of Śvetaka ever owed allegiance to the Bhauma-Karas. Moreover, the Bhauma-Karas are not yet known to have issued any copper-plate grant donating land in any part of the kingdom of Śvetaka whereas several of their charters reveal that Koṅgodamaṇḍala was included in their territory. Another grant of the Śvetaka Gaṅga king Anantavarman⁸⁸ was issued in *samvat* 19 from Śvetaka. In this grant the Gaṅga king has been endowed with the royal titles of *mahārājādhirāja*, *parameśvara* and *paramabhaṭṭāraka*. But he does not refer to any overlord. Possibly, some of the early Gaṅga rulers of Śvetaka, who were contemporaries to the Bhaumas and ruling the area contiguous to their territory of Koṅgodamaṇḍala, might have adopted their system of dating in order to maintain a good political relationship.

Śivakara II *alias* Unmaṭṭakeśarin or Unmaṭṭasimaha has been identified with the Orissan king mentioned in an autographed manuscript called *Gaṇḍavyuha*, the last section of the Buddhist *Avataṃsaka*. The said

88. *EI*, XXIV, 129-137.

manuscript was received as a token of homage from the king of Wu-cha from southern India (identified with Odra or Orissa), by the Chinese emperor Tetsong sometime during A.D. 795⁸⁹ The name of the Orissan king mentioned in this manuscript has been translated by Sylvain Levi as “the fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion” and identified with Śubhākara I of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty.⁹⁰ But the meaning of the name does not suit the above translation. R.C. Majumdar, on the other hand, identified this Odra king with Śivakara *alias* Unmaṭṭasimha or Unmaṭṭakeśarin of the same dynasty.⁹¹ This identification is, however, a mere conjecture and awaits further investigation on the subject, to be definite in regard to the chronology of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty and the identity of the Orissan king mentioned in the Chinese record.

During the Bhauma year 20, it was Śivakara II Unmaṭṭakeśarin who seems to have been on the Bhauma throne with his capital in the vicinity of Virajā. It is probable to think that he conquered Koṅgoda region from the Śailodbhavas, though the probability of inheritance of the region from his father Śubhākara I cannot be ruled out. It is known from the epigraphic records of the Śailodbhavas that by the year A.D. 730-31, they were driven out from Koṅgodamaṇḍala.

It is interesting to note that we do not find reference to his secondary name of Unmaṭṭakeśarin in his own grant. It seems to be an epithet endowed on him. But it may not be taken as a later fabrication, as this name occurs in the records of a contemporary ruler mentioned above. Moreover, it is interesting to note that the name of this king as Unmaṭṭasimha, described as a remote ancestor of the family, occurs in the later records of the Bhauma-Karas, after about 130 years of their rule. From the Bhauma year 149 (c.A.D. 885), we find the name of Unmaṭṭasimha described as the earliest king of the family in the copper-plate records in place of Lakṣmīkara and Kṣemaṅkara, about whom discussions have already been made. It appears, by the year 149, Unmaṭṭasimha had become a legendary figure in the family

89. *EI*, XV, 363-364. If the beginning of the Bhauma era is 736 A.D. which is now generally accepted, then there is doubt about the said date of receipt of the autographed manuscript by the Chinese emperor and the identification of the Orissan king as Śivakara II Unmaṭṭasimha. The year 795 A.D. corresponds to the Bhauma year 59 when Śivakara II was not on the Bhauma throne, but his son Śubhākara II was possibly ruling during this period.

90. *Ibid*, 363ff.

91. *HCIP*, IV, 64-65; Majumdar and following him, others, however, believe this Bhauma king as Śivakara I.

genealogy, mainly due to his great political achievements. From the Bhauma year 149 onwards, the later rulers give a grandiloquent description of his triumphal career. Śivakara IV, one of his later successors in his two copper-plate records⁹² first mentions the name of Unmaṭṭasīmha as one of the real founders of the greatness of the dynasty and describes his invasion of the Rāḍhā country, his capture of the Rāḍhā princess and other achievements. These charters also credit him with the conquest of Kaliṅga, though this statement has not yet been corroborated by any other evidence. That at least a part of Rāḍhā (south-west Bengal) kingdom was included in the division of northern Tosali of the Bhauma kingdom is known from the later copper-plate charters which refer to the grant of villages in Daṇḍabhuktimāṇḍala, earlier forming one of the divisions of Rāḍhā, probably before the invasion of Unmaṭṭasīmha *alias* Śivakara II.

From the Neulpur plate of his son, it is known that Śivakara II was a devotee of Lord Buddha. In this grant he has been endowed with the religious title of *parama-tathāgata* (a devotee of Tathāgata-Buddha). His own Chaurasi grant does not mention any such religious title, nor do the later members referring to his name as Unmaṭṭasīmha in their respective copper-plate charters. The grant of Tribhuvanamahādevī I⁹³ refers to his name Unmaṭṭakeśarin besides that of Jayavarmadeva of Śvetaka. He seems to have enjoyed a long reign of at least 20 years, if we accept the date mentioned in the Baḍakhimeḍi grant of *rāṇaka* Viṣavāraṇava and Jayavarmadeva of his own time, as well as the date mentioned in his own grant as correct. The subsequent Bhauma year has been found in his son's grant as the year 30.

The next king whose inscription has been discovered, was Śubhākara who may be taken as the second king of the same name found in the dynastic genealogy. There is only one copper-plate record⁹⁴ of this king so far known to the scholarly world. But he has also been referred to in the epigraphic records of his successors. His own copper-plate charter reveals that he succeeded his father Śivakara II. His grandfather's name has been mentioned as Kṣemaṅkara who has been identified with Śubhākara I in the family genealogy mentioned above. Kṣemaṅkara has been endowed with the Buddhist religious title of *paramopāsaka*, "a follower of the Buddhist faith", while his son Śivakara II has been described as *paramatathāgata*, "a devout worshipper of Tathāgata or the Buddha", and his grandson Śubhākara II,

92. Nos. 11 and 12.

93. No. 15.

94. No. 4.

the issuer of the said grant, as *paramasaugata*, 'a devout worshipper of the Sugata or the Buddha'. The capital or the chief city whence the said charter is stated to have been issued is mentioned as Guhadevapāṭaka which has been mentioned in his father's grant as Guhadevapāṭikā.

Śubhākara II is generally believed to be Śubhākara I on the basis of the date mentioned in his own charter which has been doubtfully read⁹⁵ by some as the year 54, while others read it as the year 8. But the single numerical symbol incised in the grant looks more like that of 30 than 8, nor is there any scope to read it as two symbols denoting the year 54.

Śubhākara II claims in his copper-plate charter to have belonged to the Bhauma family (*Bhaum-ānvaya*). The royal title of simply *mahārāja*, unlike his predecessors, is found with his name in this record, though the record of his grandson⁹⁶ credits him with sovereign titles of *mahārājādhirāja* and *parameśvara*. He granted villages in the northern division of his kingdom, i.e., Uttara Tosali in favour 204 Brāhmaṇas⁹⁷ though from his religious title *paramopāsaka* he seems to have been a devotee of lord Buddha. These Brāhmaṇas were settled in two contiguous villages made one and named Solaṇapura. This grant by Śubhākara II would tend to suggest that he was eager to establish the Vedic system in its proper order. Besides his own grant the copper-plate grants of his successors credit him with the erection of a number of Buddhist *vihāras*. His queen's name is not found in his own grant, nor in any other grant of his successors, though scholars believe him to be Śubhākara I and his queen as Mādhavadevī.

The epithet recorded in the grant of one of his grandsons named Śubhākara III is "one who has acquired sovereignty by his own prowess" (*sva-prabhāva-samāsādita-sārvabhauma-bhāva*) though he has borne the simple title of *mahārāja* in his own charter and not *mahārājādhirāja* as usually found with the names of his predecessors. The records of his another grandson named Śubhākara IV⁹⁸ inform us that he was heard to have been deserted by his own soldiers. But his adversaries could not impair his glorious career. Though, specifically, nothing has been mentioned in these records, they apparently indicate some kind of political turmoil that took place during his reign. It is interesting to note that this statement of his grandson's records

95. See the inscription no. 4 and the foot note 24 in the text section.

96. No. 7.

97. Though the text line 30 of his inscription indicates two hundred Brāhmaṇas, the names of 204 Brāhmaṇas are, in fact, given in the charter.

98. Nos. 8 and 9.

is corroborated by a statement found in his own record. It reveals that he quelled some disturbances created by his kinsmen. It apparently indicates that family feuds had already started from the period of his reign and as we shall see subsequently, it continued upto the end of this dynastic rule in the thirties of the 10th century A.D. Neither these statements nor the conspicuous absence of the imperial title in his own record would indicate any mutilation of the extensive kingdom he inherited from his father. The copper-plate records⁹⁹ of the later members of his family credit him to have subdued the people of Kalinga. There is, however, no such direct evidence so far known about this conquest. During the reign of his father Śivakara II, as has been discussed above, the early Eastern Gaṅgas of Kalinga and Śvetaka seemed to have had friendly relations with the Bhauma-Karas of Tosali. But it is not altogether impossible to think of the occurrence of disputes often between the two contiguous kingdoms of the Gaṅgas and the Bhauma-Karas. The kingdom of Tosali as revealed by the Bhauma records extended up to the Baḍanadī (or the ancient Mahānadī) in the northern part of the Ganjam district comprising the division of Koṅgodamaṇḍala.

Scholars believe on the basis of the statement recorded in the grants of his successors that during the reign of Śubhākara II there were disturbances created by the Rāṣtrakūṭas of the Deccan in the kingdom of the Bhauma-Karas. It is known from the records of the Rāṣtrakūṭas¹⁰⁰ that from the time of Dantivarman or Dantidurga (c. A.D. 754), the first known ruler of the Rāṣtrakūṭa dynasty of the Deccan and the real founder of the greatness of his family, there were some passing invasions by them every now and then, especially against the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar. This might have disturbed the reign of Śubhākara II who seemed to have been a contemporary of Dantivarman and might have also faced his successor Govinda III. Thus the statements in his own records as well as in the records of his successors would make us believe that the internal chaos created by his own kinsmen and the disturbances created by the external enemies must have diminished, to some extent, the power and prestige of the Bhauma kingdom during the rule of Śubhākara II.

It is not possible to say anything definitely regarding the length of time he remained on the Bhauma throne despite family troubles. It is obvious

99. Nos. 11 and 12.

100. *HCIP*, IV, 1; V, 50; *EI*, XVIII, 244ff. Rāṣtrakūṭa ruling families are known to have been subordinates of feudatories under the Somavarṁśins of Kosala and Utkala during about 10th century A.D. See *OHRJ*, XXVIII, 5-16.

from the genealogy as well as the statements furnished in the records of his successors that there were wars of succession and revolts in the family during his life time and after his death. The copper-plate records of his grandsons inform that he had two sons, the elder was Śivakara, the third member of the family to assume this name, and the younger was named Śāntikara. It is to be noted that in the genealogy of the family the name of Śāntikara is not found assumed by any member before him. Obviously, this Śāntikara, being the younger son, was also a claimant to the Bhauma throne after Śubhākara II. On the other hand, the name of Śivakara has been found in the genealogy, alternately used with the name Śubhākara. There is reason to believe on this basis that Śivakara III was the elder son of Śubhākara II and the lawful claimant to the Bhauma throne. But possibly there followed some family feuds after the death of Śubhākara II on the issue of succession to the throne. Śivakara III appears to have succeeded his father but could not remain on the throne peacefully for long. He seems to have been a weak ruler, unable to suppress his rebellious younger brother Śāntikara, who usurped the throne by a *coup*. Thus after Śubhākara II the dynasty was split into two branches. This is evident from the names assumed by the kings of the family. The rule of the elder branch represented by Śivakara III ended after his son Śubhākara who was the third ruling member to assume this name. That coronation names continued alternately as 'Śubhākara' and 'Śivakara' is to be noticed in the elder branch up to the end of rule by this Śubhākara III. On the other hand, the name of 'Śāntikara' is not to be found in the genealogy of the earlier rulers of the family. It is found for the first time in the epigraphic records of his time and of the subsequent period.

In the struggle for succession to the Bhauma throne, Śivakara III faced a débâcle and might have been killed being unable to prevent the external as well as internal disturbances. The external disturbances are evidenced from the Badal pillar inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla¹⁰¹ and the Bhagalpur grant of the same king¹⁰² (c. A.D. 810-850). It is claimed in these records that Devapāla conquered Utkala.

Śāntikara, who may be taken as the first king of the family to assume this name, represented the younger branch after the death of his father and seems to have captured the throne from his elder brother Śivakara III. He is known from several records of the family as well as of his own time. During the Bhauma year 93, he was on the throne which is revealed by two

101. *EI*, II, 164ff; R.C. Majumdar (ed), *HCIP*, V, 50.

102. *IA*, XV, 304ff.

cave inscriptions from Bhubaneswar in the Puri district.¹⁰³ The fact that he ruled for a considerably long period after the death of his father and elder brother is apparent from the records of his successors. But no copper-plate charter of this king is known to have been discovered so far. The two copper-plate grants of his son¹⁰⁴ refer to Śāntikara and his queen Tribhuvana-mahādevī. The record of this queen¹⁰⁵ as well as of the later successors reveal that he had borne several other names. Thus the record of one of his great-grandsons¹⁰⁶ mentions his name as Śāntikara, while another great-grandson refers to him as Gayāḍa in his two grants¹⁰⁷ and all these records refer to Tribhuvanamahādevī as his queen. This queen in her own record mentions her husband's name as Lalitahāra and describes him as the "moon to the lily tank of the Kara family" and endows him with the royal titles of *mahārājādhirāja* and *paramēśvara*. In one of the grants of his great-grandson Śivakara IV a village named Gayāḍapura is found which seems to have been named after this king.

Nothing more is known about this king who may be taken as Śāntikara I, though he has been placed in high esteem in the family genealogy. In almost all the epigraphic records of his successors up to the end of this dynastic rule, his name has been found as one of the eminent kings of the family. The younger branch, initiated by him, continued till the downfall of the dynasty during about the fifth decade of the 10th century A.D. It is to be noted that no religious title for Śāntikara I is to be found in the records of his successors nor in the records of his own time. Moreover, no king and queen of this younger branch did assume any Buddhist religious title.

According to the copper-plate charters of Śubhākara IV,¹⁰⁸ son of Śāntikara I, Śubhākara II was succeeded by Śāntikara I representing the younger branch, whereas the record of Śubhākara III,¹⁰⁹ another grandson of Śubhākara II, clearly states that he was succeeded by Śivakara III representing the elder branch of the family. It is interesting to note that the subsequent records of the younger branch deliberately omit the name of Śivakara III and Mohinīdevī and the successors of this branch trace their genealogy from Śāntikara I.

103. Nos. 5 and 6.

104. Nos. 8 and 9.

105. No. 15.

106. No. 10.

107. Nos. 11 and 12.

108. Nos. 8 and 9.

109. No. 7.

Śubhākara III, son of Śivakara III, is known only from his own copper-plate grant dated in the Bhauma year 100. He claims in this grant to have belonged to the Bhauma-*kula* (Bhauma family). At the same time the charter also describes the ruling members as *Kara-narapati* (kings of the Kara family). The charter is stated to have been issued from Guhadevapāṭaka. Śubhākara III has been described as a devotee of the lord Buddha and assumed the Buddhist religious title of *paramasaugata*. He is said to have been born of Mohinīdevī. He traces the genealogy of the Bhauma kings from his grandfather Śubhākara II and claims to have succeeded his father Śivakara III. But he deliberately omits the name of his uncle Śāntikara I who, in fact, took the opportunity of the weakness of his elder brother and captured the throne by a coup. By the Bhauma year 93, Śāntikara I was on the throne when the scion of the elder branch and the lawful claimant of the throne was probably a young boy, too weak to face the challenge of his uncle. But soon after the death of Śāntikara, Śubhākara III could manage to recover his legitimate claim over the Bhauma throne, presumably with the help of the feudatory rulers of the kingdom. But his success seems to have been short-lived. He probably died a premature death, killed by the members of the younger branch of the dynasty and did not leave any successor to represent the elder branch. The subsequent records of the family are silent about this branch. He is known from his record to have assumed the sovereign titles of *paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *mahārājādhirāja* and *parameśvara*.

Śubhākara III claims in his own record to have established the order of the *varṇāśrama*, i.e., the caste and *Āśrama* system, in its golden age purity, strictly in accordance with the ancient scriptures. Like some Buddhist kings of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihar, whose records also refer to such practice, the early Bhauma-Karas being contemporaneous to them also claimed to have followed the same practice. It tends to indicate the great influence of the Brahmanical social system on the lay followers of Buddhism.

Śubhākara III is known from his charter to have married Nṛṇṇā who has been described as *rājñī*. She was possibly one of the queens of Śubhākara III and not the chief queen. He issued the said grant at her request in favour of some Brāhmaṇas who were residents of the village called Taramaṇḍapa, identified with the present locality of Terundia in the Puri district, and the find-spot of the same charter. This was situated in the division of Dakṣiṇa Tosali of his kingdom.

Śubhākara III must have ended his rule shortly after the Bhauma year 100, as we find another Śubhākara issuing grants in the Bhauma year 103 whom we may take as the fourth king of the same name. The rule of the

elder branch came to an end with the death of Śubhākara III, Two copper-plate grants¹¹⁰ of Śubhākara IV are known to have been discovered so far, issued from Guhadevapāṭaka in the year 103. Both the records refer to this king as the son and successor of Śāntikara I and deliberately omit the names of Śivakara III and his son Śubhākara III representing the elder branch, though tracing the dynastic genealogy from Subhakara II. It is to be noted that Śubhākara III and Śubhākara IV of the elder and the younger branches respectively refer to Lakṣmīkara as one of the progenitors of the Bhauma family. Śubhākara IV refers to his family as *Bhaum-ānvaya*. He claims to have been born of *mahādevī* Tribhuvanamahādevī, daughter of the diadem of the Nāgodbhava-*kula*, in the same way as Śubhākara III claimed to have been born of *mahādevī* Mohinīdevī, daughter of the diadem of the Bhavānavamśa. He refers to his grandfather Śubhākara II as a *paramasaugata* whereas in his cousin's grant he has been endowed with the title of *paramopāsaka*, both the titles being indicative of his Buddhist faith. It is interesting to note that unlike his cousin Śubhākara IV did not have any religious title. He is also known to have assumed the sovereign titles of *paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *mahārājādhirāja* and *parameśvara* and granted villages in both the divisions of Uttara Tosali and Dakṣiṇa Tosali of his kingdom. In one of his grants¹¹¹ he has been endowed with another name or epithet of Śimhadhvaja. Like his father Śāntikara I he is also known to have borne several names or epithets as revealed by the copper-plate records of his successors. One of his grandsons named Śubhākara V and his queen Prthvīmahādevī¹¹² refer to his name as Kusumahāra or Kusumabhāra. Another of his grandsons named Śivakara IV refers to this king as Śimhaketu in his copper-plate records.¹¹³ There is reason to believe that he was originally known as Śimhaketu and Kusumahāra and assumed the coronation name of Śubhākara (IV) only after he ascended the throne. The intention was possibly to assert himself to have belonged to the main line of the dynasty and ignore the legitimate claim of his cousin Śubhākara III of the elder branch.

In his Hindol plate,¹¹⁴ reference to a subordinate king named Pulindarāja of the Dhenkanal region is given. At the request of this king Śubhākara IV granted a village in order to make provisions for the worship of lord

110. Nos. 8 and 9.

111. No. 8.

112. Nos. 10, 13 and 14.

113. Nos. 11 and 12.

114. No. 8.

Vaidyanāthabhaṭṭāraka installed in a temple situated in the premises of the temple complex called Pulindeśvarāyatana, evidently named after Pulindarāja. After *rāṇaka* Viṣavārṇava of Koṅgodamaṇḍala of the time of Unmaṭṭakeśarin, we come across the name of Pulindarāja, another feudatory king, in the records of the Bhauma-Karas.

Scholars are of the opinion that Śubhākara III and Śubhākara IV, of the elder and the younger branches respectively, ruled simultaneously.¹¹⁵ But there is difficulty in accepting such a presumption. Śubhākara III, obviously ruled before Śubhākara IV as is evident from the dates mentioned in their respective copper-plate grants. Moreover, it may be noted that their grants are known to have been issued from the same place named Guhadevapāṭaka, the capital of this dynastic rule. The dates mentioned in all these records starting from Śubhākara II till Śubhākara IV would also indicate some family disturbances within the Bhauma family. Śubhākara IV seems to have ruled for a considerably longer period than that of his rival Śubhākara III of the elder branch. He might have ruled for about 15 years and was possibly killed due to internecine strife as evidenced from his mother's record.

The records of his successors inform us that Śubhākara IV was succeeded by his mother Tribhuvanamahādevī, queen of Śāntikara I. Particularly, the records of his grandsons and grand-daughter-in-law¹¹⁶ have revealed that the son and successor of Śubhākara IV was a minor boy at the time of his death. For this reason, his mother Tribhuvanamahādevī, who may be the first queen of that name in the family according to the above genealogy, took up the responsibility of the kingdom on behalf of her minor grandson. According to the information furnished in these records, she made over the kingdom to her grandson named Loṇabhāra on his attaining majority. Unfortunately, no record of Tribhuvanamahādevī, succeeding her son sometime after the Bhauma year 103, has been found yet. However, we have one copper-plate charter of this queen, but it is now known to have been issued by her at the fag end of her life, during the Bhauma year 160, when she ascended the throne for the second time. But scholars are inclined to believe that this grant was issued in the year 110 or in 120 on the basis of the doubtful reading of the date¹¹⁸ mentioned in this record, when she was on the throne after her son's death. Scholars have attempted to read

115. U.K. Subuddhi, *The Bhauma-Karas of Orissa*, 70-71.

116. Nos. 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14.

117. No. 15.

118. Ibid and note 16.

the date differently in order to suit them to their theories regarding the genealogy and chronology of the Bhauma-Karas. B. Misra, though originally read the date correctly as 160, later on changed his view, when he found that this date did not suit his proposed chronology and genealogy and read the symbols as 100.10(110), obviously, when he found it difficult to identify Tribhuvanamahādevī of her grant with Tribhuvanamahādevī I, the queen of Śāntikara I Gayāḍa and the mother of Śubhākara IV.¹¹⁹ D.C. Sircar, also, for the same difficulty, read the symbols as 100.20(120), in order to adjust the queen's rule after her son's death, in his proposed genealogy and chronology.¹²⁰

The two grants of her son inform us that she was born in the family called Nāgodbhava of southern India which is also corroborated by her own grant of the Bhauma year 160. Her own grant reveals that she was the daughter of Rājamalla, 'the frontal mark of the southern region'. That Rājamalla was a Nāga or Sinda king hailing from Karnataka region of South India can be evidenced from the name assumed by his daughter as Sindagauri. This grant furnishes several interesting pieces of information about the history of the dynasty, particularly the chronology of the family. It has also revealed that she ascended the Bhauma throne at least twice in her life. She came to the throne for the first time, as indicated above, after her son's death, and again, during the last part of her life when she issued her Dhenkanal grant which will be discussed later on. In the struggle for accession to the throne that followed the death of Śubhākara II, between Śivakara III and his younger brother Śāntikara I, there is reason to believe that it was Tribhuvanamahādevī and her father Rājamalla, the Nāga king of the south, who played a major role. The claim of Śāntikara I for the throne might have been championed by his father-in-law. The chaotic atmosphere of family feuds at the prospect of every succession to the Bhauma throne continued till the end of this dynastic rule, as will be known from the subsequent period of history of the family. The queen of Śāntikara I enjoyed a long life after her husband's death and witnessed the death of her son, grandson and two great-grandsons as will be revealed by the subsequent records of the ruling members of the family as well as her own one.

After the first part of her reign when she ruled the kingdom as the queen-regent on behalf of her minor grandson Loṇabhāra, Tribhuvana-

119. *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, 24.

120. *EI*, XXIX, 80 and 83 and note 6. According to Sircar, the date of this inscription looks like 160 but may also be read as 120.

mahādevī is known from the records of her great-grandsons¹²¹ to have abdicated in favour of her grandson. Unfortunately, no copper-plate inscription of her grandson is available so far and it is not possible to ascertain from any source, at the present state, the length of time he remained on the throne. From the records¹²² of his two sons it is known that his name was Loṇabhāra and he married Hīramahādevī, the daughter of Śimhamāna of an unknown royal family. It is also known from one of these records¹²³ that he came to be known to the world as Śāntikara whom we may take as Śāntikara II. Another of these grants¹²⁴ informs us that he was known also as Gayāḍa, who may be called Gayāḍa II, son of Śimhaketu and grandson of Gayāḍa I. Śimhaketu is known from his own grant as Śimhadhvaja and Śubhākara (IV). The fact that Loṇabhāra was coronated as Śāntikara II is evidently clear from the record of his eldest son.¹²⁵ Hīramahādevī, the queen of Loṇabhāra, is known from her eldest son's record whose name was Śubhākara, the fifth king of this name in the dynasty. She has been endowed with the royal titles of *mahārājādhirāja* and *parameśvarī*, as have been borne by all the ruling members of dynasty. Probably, Hīramahādevī also ascended the throne for some time after her husband's death. But no records of this queen nor any information relating to her rule after Loṇabhāra are forthcoming. The later records issued by her two sons are silent about her, though her sons named Śubhākara V and Śivakara IV respectively are found mentioned in the genealogical list of these records.

Śubhākara V, the eldest son of Śāntikara II, probably succeeded his mother Hīramahādevī. Only one charter of this king is known so far¹²⁶ which is dated in the Bhauma year¹²⁷ 141. The charter is stated to have been issued from Guheśvarapāṭaka. It describes his predecessors as the 'Kara' kings (belonging to the family of the Karas). It is to be noted that from the time of this king, the Bhauma rulers are described as belonging to the family of the 'Karas' (*Kara-kula*) in their respective records. Even, Tribhuvana-mahādevī I, one of the early members of the family though issued her grant at a much later period, did not mention the family name as 'Bhauma' but

121. Nos. 10, 11 and 12.

122. Ibid.

123. No. 10.

124. No. 11.

125. No. 10.

126. No. 10.

127. D.C. Sircar and following him, B. Das, have taken the year as 145, See, *EL*, XXIX, 82; B. Das, *The Bhauma-Karas and their Times*, 66, and note 4.

'Kara'. It is noticed that after the reign of her son Śubhākara IV, the family name 'Bhauma' has been given up and 'Kara-kula' was used in its place in all the subsequent epigraphic records of the family. In the genealogy traced from Śāntikara I in the charter of Śubhākara V, the name of his grandfather (son of Śāntikara I) has been given as Kusumahāra or Kusumabhāra, who may be taken as the first king to bear this name and who is same as Śubhākara IV. The issuer of the charter calls himself Kusumahāra or Kusumabhāra, who would thus be called Kusumahāra II. He seems to have borne the name of Śubhākara only after his coronation. He has been eulogised in his own record as the final incarnation of Bharata, Bhagadatta and Bhagīratha of epic fame and endowed with the Śaivite epithet of *paramamāheśvara*. Besides, he had sovereign titles of *paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *mahārājādhirāja* and *parameśvara*. Possibly, he had a short reign of about 10 years as the subsequent records of his successors would tend to suggest. He is known to have married Prthvīmahādevī, the daughter of Svabhāvatunga of the family called Sītāṁśu-vaṁśa or the Lunar dynasty. This is revealed by her own grants, besides several other facts of historical importance which will be discussed later on. Moreover, these records have indicated that Śubhākara V died childless. After his death possibly there started another war of succession within the family.

Śubhākara V was succeeded by his brother Śivakara, the fourth king of the same name in the dynasty. His two copper-plate charters¹²⁸ are so far known, both issued in the same Bhauma year 149 from Guheśvarapāṭaka. Both the grants trace the genealogy of the family from Unmaṭṭasīmha, who has been identified with Śivakara II. It is to be noted that the reference to Unmaṭṭasīmha is found in the records of the later members of the family after about 129 years of his reign, apparently as the first sovereign ruler. This name as discussed earlier, occurred for the first time in the grant of *rāṇaka* Viṣavārṇava of the time of Jayavarmadeva of Śvetaka during the Bhauma year 20, obviously as the paramount ruler of Virajā. After Unmaṭṭasīmha, the records of Śivakara IV mention the name of Śubhākara, evidently Śubhākara II of our genealogical list, as the most powerful king of the Kara family. His son has been named as Gayāḍa (I) whom we know from the records of the immediate predecessors of Śivakara IV as Śāntikara I. His son has been named as Sīmhaḥetu who is also known as Śubhākara (IV) from his own copper-plate records and as Kusumahāra (I) from the record of his eldest grandson Śubhākara V discussed above. He is stated to have

128. Nos. 11 and 12.

been succeeded by his mother Tribhuvanamahādevī, who gave up the throne in favour of her grandson Gayāḍa II. This king has been named in the record of Śubhākara V as Loṇabhāra and Śāntikara II. The two charters of Śivakara IV further inform us that Gayāḍa II had two sons, namely, Śubhākara (IV), also called Kusumahāra (II), and Lalitahāra. Gayāḍa II being the eldest, came to rule first and after his death, Śivakara IV, also named as Lalitahāra, who may be Lalitahāra II, ascended the throne. Śāntikara I had also the secondary name of Lalitahāra as revealed by the charter of Tribhuvana-mahādevī I, whom we may call Lalitahāra I.

Śivakara IV has been styled in his records as *paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *mahārājādhirāja*, *parameśvara* and the Saivite epithet of *parama-māheśvara*. He was the son of Hīramahādevī, the daughter of Sīmhamāna of an unknown royal family. But, unlike his elder brother, Śivakara IV did not style her as *parameśvarī* and *mahārājādhirāja* in his records. Though he was a Śaivite, his grants were issued in favour of the Buddhist religious establishments, situated in the Uttara Tosali division of his kingdom, i.e., in the Talcher-Angul division of the present Dhenkanal district. It is well known that this region was under the control of a line of feudatory rulers called the Tuṅgas, acknowledging the Bhauma suzerainty. Several copper-plate records of the Tuṅga rulers, who adopted the era used by the Bhauma-Karas, are known to the scholarly world.¹²⁹ The two charters of Śivakara IV corroborate the fact that these Tuṅgas owed allegiance to the Bhauma rulers and were in charge of administration of the region under discussion. The two grants were issued by Śivakara IV in favour of the Buddhist monastery situated in the Tuṅga dominion, at the request of his subordinate *rāṇaka* Vinītatūṅga, evidently one of the Tuṅga rulers of the kingdom of Yamagarttamaṇḍala, comprising the present Talcher-Angul region of the Dhenkanal district. The copper-plate charters of the Tuṅga family reveal the existence of more than one Vinītatūṅga, all assuming the feudatory title of *rāṇaka*. Of them, Vinītatūṅga II, son of Khaḍgatuṅga and grandson of Vinītatūṅga I, a ruler of Yamagarttamaṇḍala is known to have issued three copper-plate charters. Two of these charters are undated and appear to have been issued when he was *rāṇaka*. The third copper-plate grant¹³⁰ was issued in the year 161, when he was endowed with the royal title of *mahārāja*, though he had the other feudatory titles, such as *samadhigata-paṇca-mahāśabda*. The date mentioned in this grant is evidently in the Bhauma era

129. *EI*, XXXIV, 91ff; XXXVIII, 122ff; *JESI*, VII, 120-27; *JBORS*, VI, 236ff.

130. *EI*, XXXVIII, 122ff.

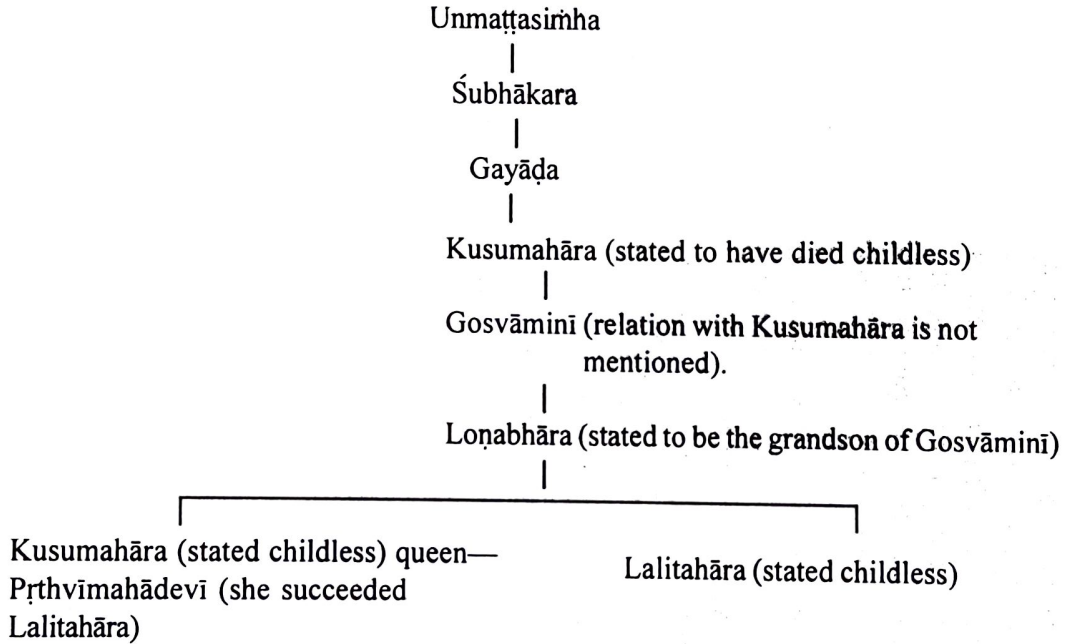
which would also tend to indicate that he was a contemporary of Śivakara IV and continued to rule Yamagarttamaṇḍala as a subordinate king even after the death of this Bhauma-Kara sovereign. During the Bhauma year 161, he appears to have extracted more power and influence, taking the opportunity of the internal weakness of the Bhauma-Kara family which was apparent by this time, when all its ruling members were widowed queens and a princess as it can be observed from the subsequent discussion below. The later records would corroborate the fact that the war of succession continued within the Bhauma family during the rule of Śubhākara V and his brother Śivakara IV which produced far-reaching consequences. These records also furnish facts about certain significant events that would enable us to reconstruct the chronology of the family.

It has been noticed that after the death of Śāntikara II *alias* Gayāḍa II *alias* Loṇabhāra, the Bhauma family was again divided into two branches. But Śubhākara V, representing the elder branch, died childless as revealed by his queen Pṛthvīmahādevī's copper-plate records. These records further inform us that her brother-in-law Śivakara IV *alias* Lalitahāra II, succeeding his elder brother, also died childless. But the statement is not true and seems to have been deliberately suppressed as will be evident from the subsequent discussion.

The rule of Pṛthvīmahādevī, the widowed queen of Śubhākara V, and after her of the old queen of Śāntikara I, after the death of Śivakara IV would provide us the clues to determine the chronology of the dynasty. These two queens also represent the turning points in the history of the Bhauma-Kara rule. The marriage of Śāntikara I with Tribhuvanamahādevī I *alias* Sindagauri, the daughter of the Nāga king of the southern region, marked one of the turning points in the history of the Bhaumas. From her own record as well as from the records of her son and successor, it is observed that she was able to retrieve the lost prestige and powers of the Bhauma kingdom with the help of an external power who was her own father, the Sinda king of the south. The accession of Pṛthvīmahādevī, who assumed the name of Tribhuvanamahādevī (II), with the help of her father Svabhāvatuṅga the Somavaṁśin king of Kosala, sowed the seeds of dissensions in Bhauma family which ultimately led to its extinction and prepared the way for the occupation of Orissa by the Somavaṁśins.

In the struggle for accession to the Bhauma throne that followed after the death of Śubhākara V, it was his queen Pṛthvīmahadevī who played the major role. Śivakara IV, who succeeded his elder brother, seemed to have

been killed by the members of the family sometime after the Bhauma year 149. It was Pr̥thvīmahādevī, who captured the throne after Śīvakara IV's assassination. Two copper-plate charters of this queen have been discovered so far. Both the grants are stated to have been issued from the so-called Guheśvarapāṭaka, the capital of the Bhauma kings and made in favour of the Śaivite establishment located in Daṇḍabhuktimāṇḍala of the Uttara Tosali division of the Bhauma kingdom. These two records give the following genealogy of the Bhauma family in which the long line of rulers from Unmaṭṭasiṃha down to the ruling queen herself are named :-



In the description of Gosvāminī, her records actually quote one stanza and a half from the Talcher grant¹³¹ of Pr̥thvīmahādevī's husband. She has been described in these charters as the daughter of Nṛttāmahādevī and Svabhāvatuṅga, the lord of Kosala, who belonged to Sītāṃśu-*vaṃśa* or the Lunar dynasty. Nṛttāmahādevī was the daughter of one Yaśovṛddhi, apparently as king of an unknown royal family. The fact that Svabhāvatuṅga was a king of Soma-*vaṃśa* or the Lunar dynasty has now been corroborated by the records of the Somavaṃśins.¹³² Earlier, there had been controversies among scholars regarding the identification of this Somavaṃśin ruler. D.C.

131. No. 10.

132. Patna Museum Plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I, *JASB*, N.S., I, 14-16.

Sircar identified him with Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I, son of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya I,¹³³ while others believed that Svabhāvatuṅga was the same as Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya himself.¹³⁴ But the recent discovery of a copper-plate charter of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya,¹³⁵ dated in his first regnal year, has enabled us to solve the problem of the identification of Svabhāvatuṅga. He has been described in this grant as the father of Janamejaya I and his queen as the mother. The charter was issued from Suvarṇapura on the occasion of the first coronation ceremony of Janamejaya in the first year of his reign. Suvarṇapura, the well-known capital of the Somavaṃśins, is the same as the present township of Sonepur in the Bolangir district. Thus Janamejaya I and the Bhauma queen Prṥthvīmahādevī were respectively son and daughter of Svabhāvatuṅga, but born of different queens. Sindūragaurī was evidently the chief queen of Svabhāvatuṅga who gave birth to Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya I. Nṛttāmahādevī seems to have been one of the queens of this Somavaṃśin king from whom was born Prṥthvīmahādevī who later on became the queen of Śubhākara V. It is probable that there existed peaceful relationship between the two royal families of the Somavaṃśins and the Bhauma-Karas during the reign of Svabhāvatuṅga. But, it seems, by the Bhauma year 141 when Śubhākara V was on the Bhauma throne, Svabhāvatuṅga was dead and his son Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya had come to the Somavaṃśin throne with his capital at Sonepur. Svabhāvatuṅga has been described as the 'lord of Kosala' in the short supplement at the end of the above-mentioned Patna plates of Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti and also in the Baud grants of his daughter Prṥthvīmahādevī. The Patna plates also credit him with the protection of the kingdom of Kosala and tell us that he became king by his own valour. This would tend to indicate that he was the real founder of the greatness of the Lunar dynasty. The region around Sonepur in the Bolangir district appears to have been already under the control of the Somavaṃśins during his reign, which was previously occupied by the Bhañjas of Khiṇjalimaṇḍala. The kingdom of the Bhañjas with their headquarters at Dhṛtipura at first comprised the areas around Sonepur and Birmaharajpur Tahsil in the Bolangir district, Baud-Phulbani in Baud-Khandmals district and also a part of Daspalla in the Puri district. The

133. R.C. Majumdar (ed), *HCIP*, IV, 148-49.

134. K.C. Panigrahi, *Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavaṃśis of Orissa*, p. 6; U.K. Subuddhi, *Bhauma-Karas of Orissa*, 74-75; B. Das, *The Bhauma-Karas & Their Times*, 81.

135. See Appendix, plates XV-XIX. This charter is now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, and will be published soon.

river Mahānadī was the dividing line between the northern and the southern Kṛiṇjali for which the Bhaṇjas were endowed with the epithet of *Ubhaya-Kṛiṇjalyadhipati*, the 'lord of both the Kṛiṇjalis; though they assumed the feudatory royal title of *rāṇaka* at the beginning of their reign. It is probable to think that these Bhaṇjas¹³⁶ owed allegiance to Svabhāvatuṅga and his son Janamejaya I at the beginning of the Somavamśin rule in the Sonepur region. But later on, during the last part of Raṇabhaṇja's reign, these Bhaṇjas were forced to shift their headquarters from Dhṛtipura to Vaṇjulvaka in the Ganjam region, due to certain strained political reason. The Bhaṇjas of Dhṛtipura are not known from any source to have owed allegiance to the Bhauma-Karas. But during the later part of their reign when they were driven out from Dhṛtipura to Vaṇjulvaka, they seem to have acknowledged the Bhauma suzerainty, as can be gleaned from the use of the Bhauma era and the subordinate title of *rāṇaka* by some of the later Bhaṇja rulers of Vaṇjulvaka.¹³⁷ Probably, it was the Somavamśin king Janamejaya I who was responsible for the political disturbances in the Bhaṇja kingdom of Dhṛtipura which led them to shift to Vaṇjulvaka and at the same time created chaos by his interference in the internal affairs of the Bhauma-Karas. Probably he played the major role in the family feuds of the Bhauma-Karas in their struggle for power. His motive was to exert political influence over the Bhauma kingdom which was then in a state of decline through his sister Pṛthvīmahādevī. It was Janamejaya I who was also responsible for the death of Sivakara IV in order to help Pṛthvīmahādevī to capture the Bhauma throne. The Brahmeśvara temple inscription of the time of the Somavamśin Uddyotakeśarin¹³⁸ reveals that Janamejaya I killed the Oḍra king by a sharp spear-head in a battle. Thus it was Janamejaya I who, with the motive to control the Bhauma-Kara politics through his sister, sowed the fresh seeds of dissension in the Bhauma family which ultimately led to its extinction.

The two copper-plate records of Pṛthvīmahādevī reveal that she had borne the names of Tribhuvanamahādevī as well as Sindagaurī, which, as

136. S. Tripathy, *Inscriptions of Orissa*, VI, 51-124ff. Records of only two Bhaṇja kings, namely, Śatrubhaṇja and his son Raṇabhaṇja of Sonepur-Baud region are known to have been discovered so far. Of them, Raṇabhaṇja is known from his records to have ruled for at least 58 years from his capital at Dhṛtipura situated somewhere in the vicinity of the present township of Baud on the southern bank of the Mahānadī in the Baud-Khandmals district.

137. *OHRJ*, I, 208-213; *EI*, XXIX, 189-194.

138. *JASB*, VII, 557-562; *JRASB, Letters*, XIII, 63-73ff.

already stated earlier, were, in fact, the names borne by the queen of Śāntikara I who ascended the Bhauma throne after her son's death, sometime after the Bhauma year 103 for the first time. Though she has found place in the genealogical list furnished by Pṛthvīmahādevī's grants, she has not been mentioned as Tribhuvanamahādevī, but Gosvāminī. Pṛthvīmahādevī has claimed herself as the real Tribhuvanamahādevī as well as Sindagaurī. Further, it is to be noted that she has suppressed facts relating to the genealogical history of the dynasty. Her records inform us that her husband died without leaving any male child. They also inform that her brother-in-law Śivakara IV also died childless. But the latter statement did not prove true. We know from the subsequent epigraphic records¹³⁹ of the family that Śivakara IV did leave two sons named Śāntikara (III) *alias* Lavaṇabhāra (or Loṇabhāra II) and Śubhākara (VI). This fact seems to have been deliberately suppressed by Pṛthvīmahādevī with the motive of establishing her legitimate claim over the throne. Probably, these two sons were too young to control the reins of government at the time of their father's death. Another important fact to be noted is that Pṛthvīmahādevī did ignore the claim of the elderly queen Tribhuvanamahādevī I who was still alive to take up the burden of the kingdom by suppressing the rebellious Pṛthvīmahādevī *alias* Tribhuvanamahādevī II and her supporters, immediately after the Bhauma year 158. This is indicated by her own copper-plate record¹⁴⁰ dated in the Bhauma year 160. Pṛthvīmahādevī, instigated by her brother Janamejaya I (also possibly by her father), took the opportunity of the absence of any powerful male ruler in the Bhauma family, staged a rebellion and possibly captured the Bhauma throne. But her success seems to have been short-lived. Tribhuvanamahādevī I seems to have received public support as well as support from her feudatories to control the reins of power. Pṛthvīmahādevī, apprehending the possibility of public revolt, assumed the same name of Sindagaurī as well as Tribhuvanamahādevī, and we may place her in the dynastic genealogy as Tribhuvanamahādevī II.¹⁴¹ With the aid of her brother she forcibly set aside the legitimate claim of Tribhuvanamahādevī I and also the minor sons of Śivakara IV. The strong backing of the rising Somavaṁśin power under Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya enabled Pṛthvīmahādevī to install

139. Nos. 16-23.

140. No. 15.

141. *EI*, XXIX, 212ff. S.C. De thinks that there were three queens bearing the name Tribhuvanamahādevī and takes Pṛthvīmahādevī as the second queen of that name.

herself on the Bhauma throne, if ever she did it as the statements in her copper-plate grants would make us believe. But this external interference in the Bhauma politics might have generated ill-feeling among the subjects and the subordinate rulers towards Pr̥thvīmahādevī. Due perhaps to this reason, she ultimately succumbed to the popular pressure and was forced to quit the throne or possibly killed after a brief reign. Her assumption of the names of Tribhuvanamahādevī and Sindagaurī, in spite of the statement recorded in her charters that she was the daughter of Svabhāvatūṅga of the Lunar dynasty, would tend to indicate that she adopted these names arbitrarily, just to pass herself as the shadow of Gosvāminī-Tribhuvanamahādevī I intending to appease the feudatories and the subjects. It is also to be noted that she adopted the religious title of *paramavaiṣṇavī* of the elderly queen. The genealogy furnished in her two grants seems to have been copied from the three Talcher plates respectively of her husband and her brother-in-law, quite intentionally avoiding the name of Tribhuvanamahādevī I and her relation with Kusumahāra (I), in order to assert herself as the real Tribhuvanamahādevī. On the other hand, the genealogical account given in the above three Talcher plates clearly mentions that Tribhuvanamahādevī. I was succeeded by her son after whose death she again reigned for sometime. She abdicated the throne when her grandson Loṇabhāra *alias* Śāntikara II attained maturity, capable enough to hold the reins of administration. This statement would indicate the fact that she was not dead at the time of her grandson's accession. Even though Pr̥thvīmahādevī's grants ignore her as the real Tribhuvanamahādevī and call her Gosvāminī, they do not contain any fact which would induce us to believe regarding her death till the Bhauma year 158.

On the other hand, there is reason to believe that till at least the Bhauma year 160, Tribhuvanamahādevī I, the widowed queen of Śāntikara I, was alive to ascend the throne for the second time after the death of her two great-grandsons, and suppress the rebellion staged by Pr̥thvīmahādevī, the widowed queen of her eldest great-grandson Subhākara V. But then she was at the last stage of her life, perhaps an octogenarian lady, and the Bhauma kingdom was also in a state of decline due to aggression from all sides, particularly the Somavāmśins has become the arch-enemies of the Bhauma-Karas. The Dhenkanal grant issued by this queen during the year 160 informs us that she was married to Lalitahāra I, who has been identified with Śāntikara I *alias* Gayāḍa I of the grants of his successors. She has been

endowed with the epithet of *Gosvāminī* which is also found to have been used for her in the grants of *Prṭhvīmahādevī*. It is stated in her own charter that *Gosvāminī* was approached by the ministers and the feudatories of the kingdom requesting her to ascend the throne as she did on earlier occasion. She was at first reluctant, but when her feudatories repeatedly requested her, she was eager to see her quick coronation, so that she would be able to bring peace among her subjects. This statement as well as the epithet *Gosvāminī* endowed to her, have been differently interpreted by scholars. It has been taken as the name of an ancient queen whose example had been cited by the ministers and the feudatories.¹⁴² The epithet was endowed to her, evidently out of respect for her age, who, in fact, lived a long life. She was devotee of Viṣṇu as known from the religious title of *paramavaishnavī* borne by her. *Gosvāminī* is also known to be a Vaiṣṇavite epithet used in the case of female devotees of Viṣṇu in the east Indian regions of Bengal, Assam and Orissa. This Vaiṣṇavite epithet of *Gosvāmī* for a male devotee and *Gosvāminī* for the female, especially for the elderly devotees is still in use in this region and particularly in Orissa.

One interesting point is to be noted in regard to the two copper-plate charters of *Prṭhvīmahādevī*, which are in a very beautiful state of preservation. The provenance of these records is known to be around Baud town in the Baud-Khandmals district. They were reported to have been kept in the treasury of the ex-State of Baud.¹⁴³ The internal evidences furnished by these two records are that they were issued at the request of Śaśilekhā, born in the Virāṭa family and wife of a feudatory ruler named Maṅgalakalaśa designated as *maṇḍalādhīpati*, of the Vṛgaḍi family, in favour of the Śaivite establishment situated in Daṇḍabhuktimāṇḍala, included within the Uttara Tosali division of the Bhauma-Kara kingdom. Daṇḍabhuktimāṇḍala is now identified with the region comprising the south-western part of the present Midnapore district of West Bengal, which is far away from Baud situated in the western part of Orissa. Maṅgalakalaśa was evidently a feudatory king under the Bhauma-Karas, installed in Daṇḍabhuktimāṇḍala, who seemed to have supported the rebellious queen *Prṭhvīmahādevī* in her struggle for power and for the Bhauma throne. It is probable to think that though the declaration

142. *EI*, XXIX, 220-221 and note 1; B. Das, *The Bhauma-Karas and Their Times*, 47, 50, *Gosvāminī* has been taken as a "mythical name of a queen of some ancient ruling family". But it may be pointed out here that in Orissa, the grandmother is usually addressed as *gosāin-mā* (*gosvāminī*-mother).

143. *EI*, XXIX, 210.

of the grants was made by Pṛthvīmahādevī and recorded in two copper-plates issued from Guheśvarapāṭaka in order to assert her claim as legitimate and pass herself as the real Tribhuvanamahādevī as well as Sindagaurī, these plates were never issued but kept in the palace at Baud. Probably, by the year 158 of the Bhauma era Baud was already under the control of her brother, the Somavaṁśin king Janamejaya I Mahābhavagupta. The futile attempt made by Pṛthvīmahādevī seems to have been forcefully suppressed by the feudatories who were in support of Tribhuvanamahādevī I Sindagaurī and might have induced her to issue a copper-plate charter declaring herself as the daughter of Rājamalla, 'the frontal mark of the Southern region'. He belonged to the Nāga family of Karnataka region as can be ascertained from the records¹⁴⁴ of Śubhākara IV, son of Tribhuvanamahādevī I. This is also corroborated by the name Sindagaurī borne by her in her own grant which was issued in all probability, during the Bhauma year 160.

It is interesting to note that this copper plate charter of Tribhuvanamahādevī I does not furnish the elaborate genealogical account as is usually found in other records of the family. Unmaṭṭasiṁha and Gayāḍa have been mentioned as the past monarchs of the dynasty. The name of Śubhākara II, the son of Unmaṭṭasiṁha *alias* Śivakara II, who was also her father-in-law, seems to have been intentionally ignored due perhaps to the bitter memory of the family feuds that occurred during his reign between his two sons for their respective claims over the Bhauma throne. Gayāḍa, as we know from the genealogical account furnished by the records of his successors including those of Pṛthvīmahādevī,¹⁴⁵ was another name of Śāntikara I *alias* Lalitahāra I, husband of Tribhuvanamahādevī I. It is strange to note that her grant does not even refer to her son Śubhākara IV *alias* Siṁhaketu or Siṁhadhvaja whom she succeeded sometime after the Bhauma year 103 for the first time as the queen-regent for her minor grandson Loṇabhāra *alias* Śāntikara II as is revealed by the records of her great-grandsons. In this respect, the charter of this queen differs from other records of the family which usually furnish the genealogy of the kings in order of succession. The name of Pṛthvīmahādevī is conspicuously absent in this charter. That she ascended the throne for the second time during the Bhauma year 160 and issued the said charter, is indicated by the statement that she was requested by the feudatories and the ministers to hold the reins of government, as she did on previous occasion in order to protect the subjects from calamity.

144. Nos. 8 and 9.

145. Nos. 11, 12, 13 and 14.

There are differences of opinion in regard to the identification of Rājamalla, father of Tribhuvanamahādevī I. His family name Nāgodbhava has been sometimes read as Nagodbhave and interpreted as denoting the Western Gaṅga dynasty¹⁴⁶ of South India. It has also been suggested¹⁴⁷ to be the Śailodbhave dynasty of Koṅgodamaṇḍala ruling in Ganjam and Puri districts of Orissa before the advent of the Bhauma-Karas. R.C. Majumdar¹⁴⁸ and D.C. Sircar,¹⁴⁹ on the other hand, have opined that Rājamalla was a Nāga king though he cannot be properly identified at the present state. He may have been a Nāga king of Sindavāḍi of the Karnataka region as the Nāgas were also called the Sindas (or the Chindakā Nāgas) and as the daughter of this king has been referred to as Sindagaurī (Gaurī of the Sinda family).

It is now obvious from the Bhauma records that Sindagaurī Tribhuvanamahādevī I was the first queen of the family to ascend the throne and the only member of this dynasty to live a long life. Although several Bhauma queens are known from these records since the time of Mādhavadevī who married Śubhākara I, none of them before Tribhuvanamahādevī appears to have attempted to acquire the throne and possess enormous power and prestige.

After the reign of Tribhuvanamahādevī I, who possibly died soon after the Bhauma year 160, the two sons of Śivakara IV *alias* Lalitahāra II appear to have ruled the kingdom for some time. Unfortunately, no record of these two princes is known to have been discovered so far. Their names appear for the first time in the copper-plate records of a princess of the family¹⁵⁰ named Daṇḍimahādevī, who will be discussed subsequently. There is reason to believe that during the Bhauma year 158 they were too young to shoulder the responsibility of the kingdom. In order to protect the interests of these two minor boys, Tribhuvanamahādevī was perhaps induced to occupy the throne by suppressing the rebellious Pṛthvimahādevī with the help of her feudatories. The names of these two princes as known from the records of Daṇḍimahādevī are Śāntikara, the eldest son, who may be taken as the

146. K.C. Panigrahi, *Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavaṃśis of Orissa*, 28; U.K. Subuddhi, *The Bhauma-Karas of Orissa*, 50; B. Das, *The Bhauma-Karas and their Times*, 65.

147. *JAHRS*, IV, 190.

148. R.C. Majumdar (ed.), *HCIP*, IV, 67.

149. *EI*, XXIX, 82.

150. Nos. 16-20.

third king of that name according to our scheme of the genealogy, and Śubhākara, the youngest and the sixth king of that name in the family. As already stated earlier, these two princes were ignored by Pṛthvīmahādevī as stated in her charters, viz. Śivakara IV died without leaving any child. Although no record of Śāntikara III is known yet, he has been mentioned in the record of his queen Dharmamahādevī,¹⁵¹ besides the grants of his niece Daṇḍimahādevī. From the statements furnished in these grants it appears that he ruled the kingdom for some time, but was short lived. He was evidently succeeded by his younger brother Śubhākara VI who also did not live long as can be ascertained from his successors' records who were all female members of the family, ascending the throne in quick succession till the end of the dynasty during about the Bhauma year 204-205. These records also reveal that Śubhākara VI had two queens. Of them, Gaurīmahādevī, being the chief queen, perhaps, came to throne for a few years. Unfortunately, no record of Gaurīmahādevī is available at present which would have corroborated the statement furnished by her daughter's records that she succeeded to the Bhauma throne after the death of her husband. She ruled the kingdom, until perhaps her daughter came of age, capable enough to hold the reins of government. But she has not been endowed with the sovereign titles of *paramabhaṭṭārikā*, *mahārājābhīrāja*, etc. as found in the case of Hīramahādevī referred to in her sons' records.¹⁵² The name of the second queen of Śubhākara VI, as known from her own grant¹⁵³ and from a grant of Dharmamahādevī,¹⁵⁴ was Vakulamahādevī, who was perhaps the ruling member of the Bhauma family, as would be seen from the discussion below. The three immediate successors of Tribhuvanamahādevī I, viz., Śāntikara III, Śubhākara VI and his queen Gaurīmahādevī, however, ruled the kingdom in quick succession within the Bhauma years 160 and 180 as Daṇḍimahādevī is known to have been on the throne during the later mentioned Bhauma year.

We have at least two copper-plate grants¹⁵⁵ of Daṇḍimahādevī issued in the Bhauma year 180 which are so far the earliest known records of her reign. Up till now, we have five copper-plate charters of this princess of the Bhauma dynasty, all being issued from Guheśvarapāṭaka. The last known

151. Nos. 22 and 23.

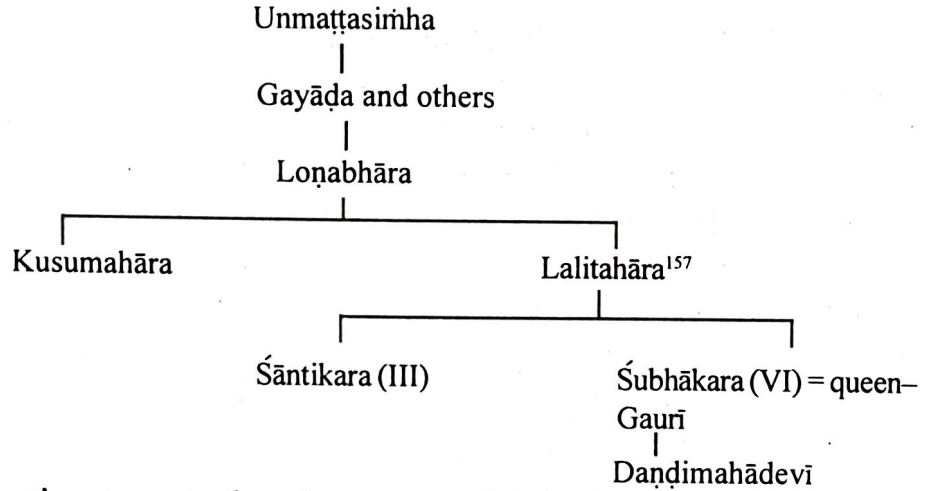
152. Nos. 10, 11 and 12.

153. No. 21.

154. No. 23.

155. Nos. 16 and 17.

date of her rule is the year 187 mentioned in her Kumurang grant.¹⁵⁶ She might have ruled for few more years though we have not yet come across any record dated after the year 187. All of her copper-plate records furnish the following genealogy beginning with Unmaṭṭasiṃha but omitting the name of his son Śubhākara II.



It is interesting to note that the names of Gayāḍa's successors, viz., Śubhākara IV and his mother Tribhuvanamahādevī I, have been ignored in the above genealogical list. Similarly, after the reign of Kusumahāra II and his brother Lalitahāra II, who were also known respectively as Śubhākara V and Śivakara IV, the names of Prthvīmahādevī and Tribhuvanamahādevī I have been omitted in the genealogical account and the events that took place relating to their accession appear to have been skilfully avoided in the account in all the charters of Daṇḍimahādevī. The records introduce her as the daughter of Śubhākara VI and Gaurīmahādevī who came to rule after her mother. The reason behind ignoring the two queens may have been due to the bitter memory of the family feuds created by their relatives in the struggle for power that followed since the death of Śubhākara II, taking advantage of the weak rulers.

Daṇḍimahādevī is known to have issued the maximum number of copper-plate grants and the evidences furnished by them would tend to suggest that she was not married. The introductory part of her charters gives the genealogy of the Bhauma rulers who were her immediate predecessors including her parents and describes her as an "ornament like a flag with

156. No. 20.

157. This name has been inadvertantly omitted by the scribe of the Ganjam grant (B), No. 18 of this princess.

insignia in the family of the Kara kings". The circumstance leading to her accession to the Bhauma throne was obviously the absence of any male member in the family after her father's death. Besides, the continuous family feuds might have provided her an opportunity to capture the throne. It is to be noted that there was Dharmamahādevī, the widowed queen of Śāntikara III, who had also the legitimate claim to sit on the throne. But her case was set aside. Moreover, there was another widowed queen of Śubhākara VI, named Vakulamahādevī, who was the step mother of Daṇḍimahādevī. But her claim also seems to have been ignored.

Daṇḍimahādevī has been endowed, like all other rulers of the dynasty, with the sovereign titles of *paramabhaṭṭārikā*, *mahārājādhirāja* and *parameśvarī*. She had brone the Śaivite title of *paramamāheśvarī*. The introductory parts in all her charters are more or less copies of another. Nothing more is known about the political career of Daṇḍimahādevī from these records, though it can be well presumed from the reference to several feudatories that she was able to control them and protect the kingdom from disintegration, foreign invasion and suppress the rebellious elements for quite sometime.

She issued copper-plate charters granting villages in both the Tosalis (Uttara Tosali and Dakṣiṇa Tosali) of the Bhauma kingdom. This would also tend to suggest that she was capable enough to restore the integrity and prosperity of her kingdom, obviously with the help of a host of feudatories who remained loyal to her. Her Ganjam grant,¹⁵⁸ Santiragrama,¹⁵⁹ Arabala,¹⁶⁰ and the Kumurang¹⁶¹ grants refer to the names of at least four feudatory rulers, stated to have been assoicated with the execution of these charters. The Santiragrama grant refers to a feudatory named *rāṇaka* Apsarodeva, stated to hvae been in charge of the territory of Yamagartta-maṇḍala. This *maṇḍala* comprised the present region around Angul, Talcher and Dhenkanal in the Dhenkanal district. At the present state, however, *rāṇaka* Apsarodeva cannot be attributed to any known feudatory ruling family of the above region, such as the Śulkis, the Tuṅgas or the Nandodbhavas who came to occupy the area during the period of the Bhauma-Kara supremacy. The kingdom of Yamagarttamaṇḍala was exclusively under the control of the Tuṅga rulers for a long time as known from their several copper-

158. No. 17.

159. No. 16.

160. No. 19.

161. No. 20.

plate grants. It is well known now that they acknowledged the supremacy of the Bhauma-Karas since earlier times.¹⁶² The said grant of Daṇḍimahādevī was issued at the request of *rāṇaka* Apsarodeva. The kingdom of Yamagarttamaṇḍala has been inadvertently stated in this charter to have been situated in the division of Dakṣiṇa Tosali though it is now revealed by other grants of the family¹⁶³ that the region around Dhenkanal was included in the Uttara Tosali division of the Bhauma kingdom.

The Ganjam grant of Daṇḍimahādevī refers to one *rāṇaka* Dānārṇava who seems to have been in charge of the region of Koṅgodamaṇḍala during the Bhauma year 180. The name borne by this feudatory ruler was popular among the ruling members of the early Eastern Gaṅga dynasty of Kalinganagara. It is well known that the territory of these Gaṅgas was situated contiguous to the territory of Koṅgodamaṇḍala. Although the Gaṅgas of Kalinganagara are not known to have owed allegiance to the Bhauma-Karas, the name of the feudatory may suggest that he may have been a member of a remote branch of this dynasty owing allegiance to the Bhauma family and thus remained in charge of administration of the southern part of the kingdom of Daṇḍimahādevī.

Her Arabāla grant refers to a feudatory king named *rāṇaka* Khaga who has also been designated as *mahāsandhivigrahin* (the minister for war and peace), *pratihāra* besides his usual designation of *bhogin* and *mahākṣapaṭalika* as he is stated to have been associated with the execution of the said charter. At the present state, however, he cannot be definitely assigned to any known family of the period. Besides, another feudatory named Koṭṭabhañja has been mentioned, designated as *rājaputra* and *mahākṣapaṭalādhikṛta* and stated to have acted as the *dūtaka* or the chief executor of the grant. Possibly, these two feudatories were in charge of the territories comprising Uttara Tosali as the said grant is stated to have been declared in this division of the kingdom. A copper-plate grant of one Koṭṭabhañja,¹⁶⁴ presumably, a member of the Bhañja family of Khijjiṅgakotṭa or the present Khiching in the Mayurbhanj district, is now known to the scholarly world. He has been stated to have granted land in Daṇḍabhukti-

162. Nos. 11 and 12.

163. See nos. 11, 12, 22 etc.; also see no. 16 and note 16.

164. *OHRJ*, XXXII, 43-57 and plate; the drafting of the charter is similar to that found in the records of the Bhañjas of Khijjiṅgakotṭa. Koṭṭabhañja of this record claims to belong to the *adi*-Bhañja dynasty of Khijjiṅgakotṭa. He was, probably, a semi-independent ruler of Daṇḍabhuktimaṇḍala as the record does not mention any feudatory title for him nor any overlord.

maṇḍala. Though the charter is not dated in any era, it may be tentatively assigned to the period of the Bhauma-Kara rule on palaeographical considerations Daṇḍabhuktimāṇḍala, presumably, continued to be a part of the Bhauma kingdom since earlier times as corroborated by the inscription of Pṛthvīmahādevī. Further, one of her charters¹⁶⁵ refers to a locality called Koṭṭapura, situated within Daṇḍabhuktimāṇḍala, which may have been named after either a Bhañja king named Koṭṭabhañja or after the Bhañja capital of Khijjīṅgakotṭa. It is probable that Koṭṭabhañja of his aforesaid grant was the same king as his name-sake mentioned in the Arabala grant of Daṇḍimahādevī, though, at the present state, it cannot be said definitely.

During the Bhauma year 187, another feudatory king named *rāṇaka* Bhūṣaṇanāga seems to have been in charge of Koṅgodamaṇḍala as revealed by the Kumurang charter of Daṇḍimahādevī. Within the Bhauma years 180 and 187, we thus find two feudatory kings ruling Koṅgodamaṇḍala acknowledging the supremacy of Daṇḍimahādevī. This may tend to suggest that the region continued to be under political turmoil during her rule.

Daṇḍimahādevī was succeeded by her step-mother Vakulamahādevī as known from her own grant and also from the grant of Dharmamahādevī,¹⁶⁶ the widowed queen of Śāntikara III. There is only one copper-plate grant of this queen of Śubhākara VI, available so far, which has been dated in the Bhauma year 204. It gives an elaborate genealogy from Unmaṭṭasiṃha as found in the copper-plate grants of Daṇḍimahādevī, adding only the portion introducing Vakulamahādevī as the step-mother of the former. In fact, excepting the grant portion along with the verse introducing herself and the date, the whole of the charter seems to be a copy of one of the copper-plate grants of her step-daughter Daṇḍimahādevī. The eulogy given in the two charters of Daṇḍimahādevī¹⁶⁷ is stated to have been composed by one Jambhala, son of Jayātman, endowed with the title of *mahākavi*, 'the great poet'. The same person is also said to be the composer of the *praśasti* or eulogy in the charter of Vakulamahādevī. It is interesting to note that she claims in the verse introducing herself to have hailed from the Bhañja family, showing her to have been born in the Bhañja family, just as Daṇḍimahādevī, in a similar verse, claimed to have belonged to the Kara family. It is to be noted that the same verse describing Daṇḍimahādevī as an 'ornament like a flag with insignia in the family of the Kara kings' in her own grants is also

165. No. 13.

166. Nos. 21 and 23.

167. Nos. 17 and 20.

to be found copied in the grant of Vakulamahādevī excepting the family name given her as the 'family of the Bhañja kings' instead of the 'Kara kings'. It would also indicate that the different branches of the Bhañja family, particularly the branches that ruied from Khijjiṅgakotṭa in the Mayurbhanj-Keonjhar region and from Vañjulvaka in the Nayagarh-Daspalla-Ganjam region played major role in the last part of this dynastic rule.

The charter of Vakulamahādevī is stated to have been issued from the Bhauma-Kara capital of Guheśvarapāṭaka during the year 204. Though the family continued to rule from this place, her kingdom seems to have been very much circumscribed during her rule. The grant was made in the division of Uttara Tosali. It is clear from her charter as well as the subsequent records of the family that there survived no male member to control the disintegrating forces and maintain the independence of the Bhauma kingdom. Though this queen has been endowed with full imperial titles and credited to have crushed the enemies with strong hands, it is merely an exaggeration. But her reign was evidently eventful which led to the ultimate downfall of the family sometime during the fifth decade of the 10th century A.D. Although, in the absence of corroborative evidences, the events cannot exactly be contended, it is possible that, besides the foreign powers like the Somavāmśins, who were the most formidable enemies, the Bhauma feudatories also took advantage of the weakness of their overlords. The Bhañjas of Khiñjalimaṇḍala and of Khijjiṅgakotṭa probably became powerful during this period among the subordinate ruling families under the Bhauma-Karas and dominated the Bhauma politics through Vakulamahādevī, the daughter of a Bhañja king, either of Khiñjalimaṇḍala or Khijjiṅgakotṭa. The Daspalla¹⁶⁸ and Ganjam¹⁶⁹ grants of *rāṇaka* Śatrubhañja of the Bhañja dynasty of Khiñjalimaṇḍala ruling from Vañjulvaka are known to have been dated in the Bhauma year 198, which have enabled the scholars to determine the beginning of the era introduced by the Bhauma-Karas. Possibly, Vakulamahādevī was a contemporary of this Śatrubhañja and might have originally belonged to his family. By this date, it is possible that her step-daughter Daṇḍimahādevī was no more on the throne and Vakulamahādevī could capture the throne with the help of the members of the Bhañja family of Khiñjali-maṇḍala. The use of the Bhauma era as well as the use of the feudatory title of *rāṇaka* would suggest that Śatrubhañja owed allegiance to the Bhauma-Karas and played diplomatic role in order to take advantage of their weakness.

168. *OHRJ*, I, 208ff; *EI*, XXIX, 191.

169. *Ibid*, I, 210ff.

Two copper-plate grants¹⁷⁰ of another queen of the Bhauma family, named Dharmamahādevī who succeeded Vakulamahādevī to the throne, are now known to scholars. They have revealed that she was the queen of the deceased Śāntikara III *alias* Lavaṇabhāra II. Unfortunately, both of her grants are not dated. Her Taltali plate¹⁷¹ furnishes the elaborate genealogy of the family up to the reign of Vakulamahādevī whom she is stated to have succeeded. The introductory part of this charter seems to have been copied from the record of Vakulamahādevī. This grant also corroborates the facts that Vakulamahādevī was the step-mother of Daṇḍimahādevī and was born in the Bhañja family. The fact that Śāntikara III had the secondary name of Lavaṇabhāra or Loṇabhāra as named after his grandfather Śāntikara II *alias* Loṇabhāra I can be ascertained from these two charters of his queen Dharmamahādevī.

It is interesting to note that none of her grants refer to Uttara Tosali or to Dakṣiṇa Tosali of the Bhauma-Kara kingdom as is usually found in other records of the family. Her Taltali plate refers to the localities, identified with their present names, which are situated in the Angul subdivision of the Dhenkanal district. It would indicate that she granted land in Uttara Tosali division of her kingdom. Similarly, her Angul plate¹⁷² though written inadvertantly, does not mention the name of Uttara Tosali. But it is evidently clear from the provenance of the plate, as well as the localities mentioned therein, that her kingdom was confined, during the period of her accession, only to a part of the present Dhenkanal district, though in her Taltali plate she has been endowed with the full sovereign titles as have been borne by other members of the family. It is sometimes believed that Dharmamahādevī was also backed by the Bhañja rulers like Vakulamahādevī.¹⁷³ But it may be pointed out here that by the time Dharmamahādevī came to rule, her kingdom was confined only to Angul-Dhenkanal region, contiguous to the territory to the Bhañjas and a portion of Cuttack district with Guheśvara-pāṭaka, the capital of the Bhauma-Karas. The Bhañjas of Khiṇḍjalimaṇḍala and Khijjiṅgakoṭṭa during her period of rule were probably independently ruling their respective territories.

It is not possible at the present state to ascertain from her records how

170. Nos. 22 and 23.

171. No. 23.

172. No. 22.

173. U.K. Subuddhi, *The Bhauma-Karas of Orissa*, 79; K.C. Panigrahi, *Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavaṃśis of Orissa*, 31.

long she survived on the throne as her charters are not dated. Possibly she succumbed to the foreign powers like the Somavamsins within a few years after the Bhauma year 204. Thus an important epoch in the history of Orissa ended with the extinction of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty during about A.D. 940-50.

There is, however, a small inscription¹⁷⁴ of a lady named Vatsadevī, who is sometimes believed to be a queen of the Bhauma-Kara family.¹⁷⁵ It is to be noted that she has not been endowed with the usual epithet of a queen, i.e., *mahādevī*. The palaeography of this inscription as well as its provenance (Jajpur in the Cuttack district) would make us believe that it belonged to the period of the Bhauma-Kara supremacy in Orissa, though it cannot be said in the absence of any corroborative evidence that Vatsadevī was Bhauma queen.

The Bhauma Era

As already stated above, the series of years recorded in an unspecified era in the inscriptions of the Bhauma-Karas and their feudatories had so far been a matter of controversy among scholars.¹⁷⁶ However, it is now an established fact that the era was introduced by the early Bhauma-Kara sovereigns. It was most probably from the time of Śivakara II Unmatṭasimha (or Unmatṭakeśarin) that the continuous regnal reckoning of the rulers of this dynasty was used which subsequently came to be known as *samvat* and to the scholarly world, as Bhauma *samvat* or era. Though there are controversies still prevailing among scholars relating to the commencement of this era, in the light of known historical facts as well as the astronomical data obtained from some dated records of the contemporary feudatory kings, they are now able to come to a definite conclusion on this vexed problem. On the basis of the astronomical data furnished by the Daspalla grant of Śatrubhaṇja *alias* Tribhuvanakalaśa of the Bhaṇja dynasty of Khiṇjalimaṇḍala,¹⁷⁷ dated in the year (*samvat*) 198, D.C. Sircar concluded that the era commenced in A.D. 831,¹⁷⁸ while S.N. Rajaguru with the help of this record and the Ganjam grant¹⁷⁹ of the same Bhaṇja king calculated the beginning of the era

174. No. 24.

175. *EI*, XXVIII, 123; B. Das, *The Bhauma-Karas and their Times*, 40, 209.

176. *EI*, XXII, 189-194; *OHRJ*, I, 208-213; *IHQ*, XXIX, 155ff; R.C. Majumdar (ed), *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, 150 and note 51.

177. *OHRJ*, I, 208ff.

178. *EI*, XXIX, 189-192.

179. *OHRJ*, V, 67ff; XII, 100ff.

during A.D. 736. The Daspalla charter was issued on the occasion of the *Viṣuva saṁkrānti*, *pañcamī*, *Ravi-dina*, associated with *Mṛgaśīrā-nakṣatra* during the year (*saṁvat* 198, i.e., on Sunday, the 5th day (or *tithi*) which was associated with the *Mṛgaśīrā nakṣatra*. The Ganjam grant of Śātrubhaṅja was issued on the occasion of *Devotsava-dvādaśī*, *Saumya-dina*, associated with the *Revati-nakṣatra*. While D.C. Sircar¹⁸⁰ assumed *Mārgaśīrā-śukla-dvādaśī*, i.e., the 12th day of the bright fortnight of the month of *Mārgaśīrā*, as *Devotsava-dvādaśī* and concluded that the grant was issued in A.D. 1029 thereby corroborating his theory that the initial year of the Bhauma era was A.D. 831. Similarly, working on the details of the date recorded in the Daspalla grant he came to the conclusion that the Bhauma era commenced in A.D. 831.¹⁸¹ If we accept his view, it will be difficult to adjust certain known facts of history. The latest known date in the Bhauma records is the year 204. If we accept A.D. 831 as the beginning of the era, the corresponding English date for this Bhauma *saṁvat* will be A.D. 1035 which will seriously militate against another known fact of history. The Tirumalai inscription of the time of the Cola king Rajendra Cola (c. A.D. 1012-1044)¹⁸² would make us believe that he defeated the Somavaṁśin king Indraratha in a fight that took place at Ādinagara which has been indentified with Yayātinagara of the Somavaṁśin records or the present township of Jajpur in the Cuttack district which is also known to have been the capital of the Bhauma-Karas. Now, if we accept A.D. 831 as the initial year of the Bhauma era, the adversary of Rājendra Cola would have been a Bhauma king or queen instead of Indraratha. Further, it is now known that Paramāra Bhoja, whose known dates are A.D. 1020-1047 defeated Indraratha sometime before A.D. 1022 as revealed by the Udayapur *praśasti* of Udayāditya.¹⁸³ Besides, as already stated earlier, the Somavaṁśin Janamejaya I Mahābhavagupta was responsible for the death of Śivakara IV in order to back his sister Pṛthvīmahādevī, the queen of Śubhākara V in her struggle for power. If the initial year of the Bhauma era is accepted as A.D. 736 on the basis of the astronomical data of the aforesaid Bhaṅja inscriptions, it seems probable that Svabhāvatuṅga, father of Janamejaya I and Pṛthvīmahādevī, was dead by the Bhauma year 158 corresponding to A.D. 894 which fact is also corroborated by the statement given in the Brahmeśvara temple inscription of the time of the

180. *EI*, XXVIII, 278-283.

181. *EI*, XXIX, 191.

182. *SII*, I, No. 67; K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas*, 238, note 51.

183. *EI*, I, 235 and verse, 19.

Somavamśin Udyotakeśarin that Janamejaya I killed the Odra king with a sharp spear-head.¹⁸⁴ It will be difficult to adjust the reign of Janamejaya and the events that took place in the Bhauma family during his time, if we accept A.D. 831, as the beginning of the Bhauma era.

Scholars have also taken into account the evidences left by Arab geographers in order to corroborate their assumption relating to the beginning of the Bhauma era in A.D. 736. They have tried to identify the 'woman ruler' of Urshfin (Orissa) during about A.D. 846, as translated from the accounts of the Arab geographers, with the Bhauma-Kara queen Tribhuvanamahādevī I, who was on the throne during that period.¹⁸⁵ This identification of the Bhauma queen is preferable if the identification of Urshfin with Orissa is taken to be correct. There is reason to believe that during about A.D. 846. Tribhuvanamahādevī was on the throne for the first time, as the queen-regent after the death of her son, during about the Bhauma year 110, when her grandson was a minor boy. It will also corroborate the statement mentioned in the records of her two great-grandsons Śubhākara V and Śivakara IV as well as the statement furnished in her own grant dated in the Bhauma year 160. This date would correspond to A.D. 896, if we accept the initial year of the era as A.D. 736, when she was crowned for the second time by suppressing the rebellious queen of Śubhākara V Prthvīmahādevī who attempted to usurp the throne by declaring herself as the real Tribhuvanamahādevī.

The capital of the Bhauma-Kara kingdom

All the extant copper-plate records of the Bhauma rulers are known to have been issued from a locality called Guhadevapāṭaka or Guheśvarapāṭaka. Some of the earlier records¹⁸⁶ mention the name as Guhadevapāṭaka. But the earliest known charter of the family, i.e., the Charurasi plate of Sivakara II,¹⁸⁷ is stated to have been issued from Guhadevapāṭikā. Obviously, *pāṭikā* is a feminine expression of *pāṭaka* denoting a smaller area in comparison to that of the latter. Originally, this expression seems to have denoted a part or the outlying area of a locality.¹⁸⁸ Thus, the locality called Guheśvara or Guhadeva suffixed with *pāṭaka*, probably, originally constituted an outlying area of a locality which in course

184. *JASB, Letters*, XIII, 72; S.N. Rajaguru, *IO*, IV, 244-252.

185. U.K. Subuddhi, *The Bhauma-Karas of Orissa*, 51.

186. Nos. 4, 7, 8 and 9.

187. No. 3.

188. D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 242.

of time grew up as metropolis or the principal seat of administration with the rise of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty. All the copper-plate records of this family begin with a description of the metropolis called Guhadevapāṭaka or Guheśvarapāṭaka in a verse and stating the locality to be the place of issue of the charters of the respective rulers which would obviously indicate that it formed the capital of their kingdom. The locality has been described in all the copper-plate charters as *jayaskandhāvāra* 'the victorious camp'. It may be pointed out in this context that the name of the locality has been found only in the copper-plate records of the Bhauma-Karas. Its reference has not yet been found in the stone inscriptions of these rulers nor of their times. The name has been mentioned as Guhadevapāṭikā or Guhadevapāṭaka in the charters of the earlier rulers up to the Bhauma year 103 when Śubhākara IV, son of Śāntikara, was on the Bhauma throne. After this king the name of the capital is found to have been changed to Guheśvarapāṭaka in all the charters of his successors. The reason of such a change cannot, however, be explained at the present state.

Scholars have speculated on the origin of the name of the capital and have presented different views on its identification with its present name. B. Misra¹⁸⁹ identified it with Godhaneśvarapāṭaṇā, situated at a distance of about 3 kms from the township of Jajpur and has taken it for a corruption of Guheśvarapāṭaka. On the basis of a story given in the Oriya *Mahābhārata* written by Sārālā Dāsa during about 16th century A.D., he opined that the capital of this dynasty was situated in the present township of Jajpur in the Cuttack district. According to the story, the Kara family founded by "one Viṣṇukara over a holy land called Śivapura with the aid of Bhīma, the brother of Yudhiṣṭhira".¹⁹⁰ This Śivapura has been identified by him with Śivadāsapura "which is a part of Jajpur town in the Cuttack district". Moreover, he has stated that the trace of an ancient fort has been found at Śivadāsapura. It is also sometimes believed, on the basis of *Virajāmāhātmya*, a literary work of about the first part of the 18th century, that some shrines in the holy city of Virajā or the present Jajpur were named as Kusumeśvara, Laliteśvara and Daṇḍīśvara probably named after Kusumahāra, Lalitahāra and Daṇḍimahādevī of the Bhauma-Kara family.¹⁹¹ Unfortunately, no traces of these shrines with such names, excepting Kusumeśvara, have been found at present in this locality, though it cannot be ruled out that some shrines were built by these rulers in the religious centre and named after

189. *OUBK*, 87-89.

190. *Ibid*.

191. U.N. Dhal, *The Glory that was Virajaksetra*, 60-61.

them. There is evidence to show the construction of a Śiva temple by one of the early Bhauma queens named Mādhavadevī, which was named after her as Mādhaveśvara. This is known from the Hamsaśvara temple inscription of the time of Śubhākara I who married Mādhavadevī. This is the only Bhauma record found in the present township of Jajpur and on the basis of this inscription, D.C. Sircar concluded that the capital of this royal family was located within the “boundaries of modern Jajpur”.¹⁹² It is to be noted that the locality where the said temple is situated is known as Śivadāsapura is close to the celebrated temple of Virajā at Jajpur on the southern bank of the river Vaitaraṇī. Despite such evidences of religious activities by the Bhauma rulers, it cannot be said definitely that Jajpur or the ancient Virajā formed the capital of the dynasty and named as Guheśvara-pāṭaka. B.Misra’s suggestion of Godhaneśvarapāṭaṇā may not also be convincing, as the expression *pāṭaṇā* suffixed with Godhaneśvara differs from *pāṭaka*. While the former is a corruption for *pattana* denoting a port town, the later denotes a contiguous area of a township.

K.C. Panigrahi¹⁹³ has identified Guheśvarapāṭaka with a locality called Guhiraṭikīrā situated in the close vicinity of Khaḍipadā, the find spot of the inscribed Buddhist Avalokiteśvara image of the time of Śubhākara I¹⁹⁴ and at a distance of 5 miles to the north of Jajpur across the river Vaitaraṇī. According to him ‘Guhira’ may be a corruption for ‘Guheśvara’ and *ṭikīrā* in Oriya denotes a mound. This assumption may not be altogether rejected on the ground of non-availability of reliable antiquities from the site of Guhiraṭikīrā¹⁹⁵ and also due to the fact that *Guhira* is not a corruption for Guheśvara.¹⁹⁶ Though the expression *Gohira* or *Guhira* or *Gohiri* in Oriya denotes a passage for cattle through paddy fields which has also been found mentioned in some of the copper-plate records of the dynasty in the same sense while specifying the boundaries of the gift village, it is not altogether impossible to take *Guhira* as a corruption for Guheśvara, the name of the locality. The sacred text called *Virajā Māhātmya* on the pilgrim centre of Jajpur states that the sacred city covers 5 *krośas* or 10 miles in circumference.¹⁹⁷ There is every reason to believe that Guhiraṭikīrā as an outlying part of the city and in the immediate neighbourhood of the Buddhist

192. *JASB, Letters*, XVII, 15-17.

193. *CBKSO*, 22.

194. No. 2.

195. N.K. Sahu, *History of Orissa*, I, 109.

196. U.K. Subuddhi, *The Bhauma-Karas of Orissa*, 149.

197. U.N. Dhal, *The Glory that was Virajākṣetra—the Virajā-Māhātmya*, 22-23.

site of Khaḍipadā might have flourished as the political headquarters of the Bhauma-Karas.

It would not be out of place to mention here that Virajā has been found in the Chaurasi plate of Śivakara II as the residence of the scribe of the said charter though Guhadevapāṭikā has been described apparently as the capital and as the place of issue of the said grant. It seems to indicate that both the localities of Guhadevapāṭaka as well as Virajā flourished as the twin cities during the time of the Bhauma-Karas. Virajā was so much well known among the ruling families and the pilgrims from other kingdoms outside the dominions of the Bhauma-Karas for its religious sanctity that Unmaṭṭakeśarin *alias* Śivakara II has been apparently stated in the copper-plate charter of the time of Jayavarmadeva¹⁹⁸ to have resided in this holy city and accorded permission to his feudatory *rāṇaka* Viṣavārṇava and to *mahārāja* Jayavarman of Śvetaka to grant lands in Koṅgodamaṇḍala which was included in his kingdom. The Chaurasi plate would evidently provide us a clue to the fact that the royal residence was located at Guhadevapāṭaka which was different from that of the temple city of Virajā. The Bhauma-Karas obviously revered the religious centre and were not in support of transforming it into a centre of political activities.

Thus the above two copper-plate records would give us the impression that Guhadevapāṭka or Guheśvarapāṭaka of the Bhauma inscriptions was an adjacent locality to the holy city of Virajā. It might have been either Śivadāsapura or Guhiratikirā both of which were in the vicinity of the religious centre of Virajā. It may be pointed out in this context that there is a big mound located at a distance of about one and half kms from the site of the temple of the goddess Virajā which is popularly known as *rājanagara*, 'the royal city'. Guhadevapāṭaka might have comprised this site. Possibly, after the downfall of this dynastic rule the locality merged into the religious township of Virajā and the name Guheśvarapāṭaka was lost into oblivion.

The locality of Virajā on the other hand, was known to the people since remote past as a glorious centre of pilgrimage.¹⁹⁹ It was evidently

198. *IHQ*, XII, 489-493ff.

199. The locality of Virajā or the present Jajpur in the Cuttack district is situated on the bank of the river Vaitaraṇi which is supposed to have formed during early times the dividing line between Utkala and Kalinga. According to the *Mahābhārata*, the river formed the north-eastern boundary of the Kalinga country. The epic refers to the valley of the Vaitaraṇi as a holy land, fit for pilgrimage, particularly in religious centre of Virajā, situated on the bank of this river. – *Mahābhārata*, III, 114, 3.

named after the principal deity Virajā installed there. References to this locality, often spelt as Virañjā and Virajas, have been found in several Orissan epigraphic records assigned to the period of the Bhauma-Kara rule as well as to the subsequent period of history. These records in majority of the cases, are copper-plate charters issued by rulers of different royal families of different parts of Orissa. Among them, the earliest king known so far to refer to Virajā was Prthivīmahārāja, a king of Piṣṭapura in south Kalinga during about 6th century²⁰⁰ A.D. He issued the grant from this place describing it as *adhivāsaka* which may denote a temporary residence. Though the place name has been prefixed with the expression *vijaya-skandhāvāra*, 'the victorious camp', it cannot be taken as one of his capitals as believed by earlier scholars. It is believed that Prthivīmahārāja extended his kingdom up to Jajpur in the Cuttack district. But it is known from his other grant that he had his capital at Piṣṭapura, the present Pithapuram in the Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh. It was, obviously, on his pilgrimage to Virajā that he issued the grant. The gift land is stated in his grant to have been situated in his kingdom of Kalinga. The ancient tradition of declaring grants of land in the holy pilgrim centres, believed to be pious deed by rulers of different dynasties was followed through the ages as is evident from several other epigraphs of the subsequent period of history which were issued from the sacred city of Virajā. Bhānudatta, a ruler of northern Orissa, issued a land grant from this holy place, evidently during his pilgrimage in about the later part of 7th century A.D.²⁰¹ Virajā or Virañjā, as spelt in this inscription, also fromed a temporary residence (*vāsaka*) for Bhānudatta at the time of issue of his grant. It is, however, believed by scholars that he made it one of his political headquarters. We do not have any corroborative evidence in support of such an assumption. The records of the period assigned to the rule of Śāntikara I of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty have also referred to Virajā, apparently indicating a sacred religious centre and also as the residence of the physician whose records²⁰² are said to have been engraved during his visit to the caves of Dhauli and Udayagiri hills near Bhubaneswar in the Puri district.

The name of Virajā for this centre of pilgrimage seems to have continued till the advent of the Somavamśins to this region of coastal Orissa during about the later half of the 10th century A.D., after the downfall of the Bhauma-

200. *EI*, XXXV, 221-223ff.

201. *EI*, XXIII, 203ff.

202. Nos. 5 and 6.

Karas. Possibly during this time it was renamed as Yayātinagara after the name of the Somavaṁśin king Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I who presumably made it the secondary capital after extending the Somavaṁśin power to southern Orissa. Yayātinagara was called by the Muslim chroniclers as Jainagar, while referring to the Orissan kingdom of the Gaṅgas who supplanted the Somavaṁśins and might have also made it their secondary capital for some time.

The Kingdom of the Bhauma-Karas

The inscriptions of the Bhauma-Karas refer to their kingdom as Tosalā or Tosali, though some contemporary records belonging to other royal families of the Indian subcontinent are found to have mentioned this kingdom as Oḍra or Oḍraka and Utkala.²⁰³ The contemporary Rāṣṭrakūṭas²⁰⁴ have referred to this kingdom as Oḍraka and the Somavaṁśins, as Utkala and Oḍra. The Pālas of Bengal and Bihar who were contemporaries the Bhauma-Karas called it as Utkala. But we seldom come across the name of Utkala or Oḍra in the records of the Bhauma-Karas. It is only in the charter of Śivakara II²⁰⁵ that he has been endowed with the epithet of *Utkalendra* (lord of Utkala). Their records reveal that the kingdom was broadly divided into two divisions, viz., Uttara (northern) Tosali and Dakṣiṇa (southern) Tosali. Oḍra was known as a *viṣaya* or district, included in the division of Uttara Tosali before the advent of the Bhauma-Karas to this region as revealed by the copper-plate charter of Somadatta.²⁰⁶ Another charter of the same ruler²⁰⁷ refers to the same region as Utkala, i.e., the coastal districts of Balasore and Cuttack. In the subsequent period, during the Bhauma rule, this region was included in the division of Uttara Tosali of their kingdom. From the records of the Somavaṁśins it is known that Oḍra *viṣaya* was also called *Oḍra-deśa* denoting a larger area comprising the districts of Puri and Cuttack which were parts of Dakṣiṇa Tosali and Uttara Tosali respectively during the Bhauma rule. Several feudatories ruling under the Bhauma-Karas have referred to this geographical unit in their respective copper-plate records. The Adipur grant of Narendrabhaṅja²⁰⁸ of the Bhaṅja dynasty of

203. R.C. Majumdar (ed), *The Age of Imperial Unity*, 7; *JASB, Letters*, XIII, 72.

204. Ibid.

205. No. 3.

206. *EI*, XXIII, 202ff.; Oḍra *viṣaya* in this charter does not seem to denote a district (*viṣaya*) but a larger area.

207. *JASB, Letters*, XI, 3-8ff.

208. S. Tripathy, *IO*, VI, 20-24; *EI*, XXV, 157-161.

Khijjiṅgakotta, the two Talcher grants of Gayādatuṅga²⁰⁹ of the Tuṅga family of Yamagarttamaṇḍala of the Dhenkanal region, the Baud plates of Raṇabhañja²¹⁰ of the Bhañja dynasty of Khiṇjalimaṇḍala of the Baud-Sonepur region in western Orissa, refer to the donees of their respective copper-plate grants as to have hailed from Oḍra *viśaya*. There is, thus, reason to believe that the name of Oḍra was in existence during the period of the Bhauma rule, forming one of the geographical units of their kingdom.

The epigraphic records of the dynasty would reveal that their kingdom extended from Ganjam district in the south to the district of Midnapore in West Bengal in the north-east. It is, however, not known from any source, if the Kosala region, i.e., Bolangir-Sambalpur tract in Orissa was ever under the control of the Bhauma-Karas, though it is sometimes believed that the early Bhañjas of Khiṇjalimaṇḍala, ruling in Baud-Sonepur tract, were feudatories of this dynasty. The epigraphic records of these Bhañjas as well as their alleged overlords, the Bhauma-Karas, do not furnish any evidence of Bhauma supremacy in this tract during 9th and 10th centuries of the Christian era. Although two copper-plate grants of Pṛthvīmahādevī *alias* Tribhuvanamahādevī II have been discovered from Baud, they do not reveal anything which may enable us to prove her hold over this region, nor of any of her predecessors. It may be noted in this context that the Bhañja rulers of this region were, no doubt, feudatories under the over-lordship of a paramount power other than the Bhauma-Karas as can be ascertained from their feudatory title of *rāṇaka* and the epithets like *samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabha*, 'one who has acquired five great sounds', though later on they asserted independence during the last part of their reign in Baud-Sonepur tract.²¹¹ Moreover, they are not known to have used the Bhauma era in their records but the regnal years like the practice adopted by the Somavaṃśins. The successors of these Bhañjas acknowledged the Bhauma supremacy, only after they were driven out from Baud-Sonepur to the Ganjam region. From a close study of the epigraphic records it appears that the

209. *EI*, XXXIV, 91-104ff.

210. *IHQ*, X, 473-477; S. Tripathy, *Op. cit.*, He was probably a contemporary of the Somavaṃśin Janamejaya I and his sister Pṛthvīmahādevī and probably was not a feudatory of the Bhauma-Karas. But his successors who were driven out to the Ganjam region after his death by the Somavaṃśins, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Bhaumas as could be revealed by the use of Bhauma era and the subordinate royal title of *rāṇaka* in their inscriptions.

211. S. Tripathy, *IO*, VI, 51-124ff.

Bhauma kingdom, though denoted a much wider area, did not include Bolangir-Sonepur-Baud region of western Orissa. The identification of the place-names mentioned in their records as well as in the records of the contemporary feudatory rulers would suggest that the river Mahānadī formed the dividing line between the two divisions of their kingdom, viz., Uttara Tosali and Dakṣiṇa Tosali. Uttara Tosali consisted of the present districts of Cuttack, Dhenkanal, Balasore and Mayurbhanj in Orissa and the south-western part of Midnapore district in West Bengal, then known as Daṇḍabhuktimāṇḍala, forming a province in this division of Uttara Tosali. The river Kānsāi (Kāmsāvati) in the Midnapore district was the north-eastern limit of their kingdom. In the west it extended up to the end of the present district of Dhenkanal. Dakṣiṇa Tosali extended from the right bank of the Mahānadī up to the river Ṛṣikulyā in the Ganjam district, which formed the south-western boundary of the Bhauma kingdom. The Bay of Bengal was the eastern boundary of both the Tosalis.

The epigraphic records of the Bhauma-Karas further inform us that both the Tosalis again consisted of several principalities called *maṇḍalas* which were under the administrative control of the feudatories enjoying considerable autonomy. In the Uttara Tosali division of the kingdom, we find *maṇḍalas* such as Daṇḍabhuktimāṇḍala, Yamagarttamaṇḍala, Airāvātṭamaṇḍala, Kodālakamaṇḍala and Khijjīṅgamaṇḍala which were occupied respectively by the subordinate royal families of the Tuṅgas, the Nandodbhavas, the Śulkis and the Bhañjas. References to Yamagarttamaṇḍala and Daṇḍabhuktimāṇḍala have been found in the records of the Bhauma-Karas. Though we have not yet come across the names of other *maṇḍalas* in their inscriptions, identification of some place names in them as well as in the records of the contemporary feudatories of these regions and the use of the Bhauma era by them have confirmed the assumption that these *maṇḍalas* were also included in the dominions of the Bhauma-Karas. Some of these *maṇḍalas*, as we know from earlier epigraphic records, formed separate kingdoms ruled by independent or semi-independent royal families, before the advent of the Bhauma-Karas. The names of these principalities remained unchanged even after they were annexed to the Bhauma dominions and reduced to some of their provinces. The principalities of Yamagarttamaṇḍala, Kodālakamaṇḍala and Airāvātṭamaṇḍala comprised the whole of the present Dhenkanal district together with the region around Banki and Athgarh on the Mahānadī in the Cuttack district. Khijjīṅgamaṇḍala of the Bhañjas of Khijjīṅgakotṭa comprised the districts of Mayurbhanj and part of

Keonjhar with its headquarters at Khiching.²¹² The Dakṣiṇa Tosali division of the kingdom consisted of Koṅgodamaṇḍala and Khiṇḍjalimaṇḍala. But it is to be noted that while the Bhañjas of Khiṇḍjalimaṇḍala seem to have enjoyed semi-independent status, the feudatories of Koṅgodamaṇḍala were under the direct control of their overlords. The Bhañjas have never mentioned the name of their overlords in their records though they assumed the feudatory titles of *rāṇaka*, *samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabda* etc. Neither the Bhauma-Karas are known to have granted lands within the Bhañja territory. The territory occupied by these Bhañjas comprised the present Nayagarh Daspalla in Puri district and the area around Bhanjanagar in the northern part of Ganjam district.²¹³ During the last part of the Bhauma rule, the Bhañja kings are known to have established matrimonial relationship with the Bhauma-Karas and believed to have dominated the Bhauma politics as is evident from the records of the last two Bhauma queens.²¹⁴

During the earlier period, Koṅgodamaṇḍala formed an independent kingdom under the Śailodbhavas²¹⁵ after the death of Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa and before the advent of the Bhauma-Karas. But as we know from the copper-plate grant of *rāṇaka* Viṣavārṇava of Koṅgodamaṇḍala²¹⁶, it was annexed to the Bhauma kingdom since the early part of this dynastic rule. It was a contiguous principality to Khiṇḍjalimaṇḍala of the Bhañjas and Śvetaka of the early eastern Gaṅgas and included the region around Chilka lake in Puri district and north-eastern part of the Ganjam district.

Besides these *maṇḍalas* there were certain other parts of the Bhauma kingdom which were not included in any principality and seemed to have remained under the direct administrative control of the rulers of this family. The region around Guheśvarapāṭaka, the capital of the Bhauma-Karas which was situated in the Cuttack district, was included in the division of Uttara Tosali and the coastal region of the Puri district, situated in the Dakṣiṇa Tosali division, seemed to have been directly controlled by the Bhauma-Karas. There is no reference to any *maṇḍala* in some of their records while granting villages in these regions.²¹⁷ As a matter of fact, the whole of the Bhauma territory was situated in between the two *maṇḍalas*, namely

212. S. Tripathy, *IO*, VI, 1-48.

213. *Ibid*, 125-225.

214. Nos. 21, 22 and 23.

215. S.N. Rajaguru, *IO*, I, Part ii, 157-253.

216. *Ibid*, II, 258-263.

217. Nos. 3, 4, and 7.

Daṇḍabhuktimāṇḍala in the north-east and Koṅgodamaṇḍala in the south-west. The two grants of Pṛthvīmahādevī²¹⁸ inform us that during the Bhauma year 158 (c. 894 A.D.) Daṇḍabhukti-māṇḍala was in charge of a feudatory named Maṅgalakalaśa of the Vrāgaḍi family who was a *maṇḍalādhipati*. Besides, we find one Koṭṭabhañja designated as *rājaputra* in one of the grants of Daṇḍimahādevī²¹⁹ who acted as *dūtaka* in the execution of the said grant. This name seemed to have been very popular among the Bhañja kings ruling from Khijjiṅgakotṭa in the Mayurbhanj region. Almost all the extant records of this branch of the Bhañja family have referred to the one Koṭṭabhañja, regarded as the first historical king of this dynasty.²²⁰ Further, another Koṭṭabhañja, presumably belonging to the same branch of the family, is known from a copper-plate charter²²¹ discovered from Bamanghati area of the Mayurbhanj district. He was the ruler of Daṇḍabhuktimāṇḍala and granted land in this region. Though his record is not dated in any era, the palaeography as well as the general nature of the charter appear to suggest that he was a contemporary king of the latter Bhauma-Karas possibly enjoying semi-independent status. The feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas, especially during the later period of their rule, when the widowed queens and the princess were ruling the kingdom, became more powerful and had full control over their respective territories, as evident from their independent grants. They played significant role in the internal affairs of the Bhauma-Karas as well as in their policy matters. The epigraphic records of the Bhauma rulers furnish a clear picture of their administrative systems which were adopted by the contemporary royal families of Eastern India, such as the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar.

Besides the *maṇḍalas* discussed above which formed provinces of the kingdom of Tosali, the whole of the Bhauma territory consisted of several *viṣayas* or districts. The above *maṇḍalas* or provinces were also divided into several *viṣayas*. Sometimes a *viṣaya* was divided for administrative purposes, into several *khaṇḍas* or divisions or may better be called subdivisions in the modern sense of the term. Thus a *viṣaya* or district called Talamura²²² was divided into subdivisions like Paścima-*khaṇḍa* and Pūrva-*khaṇḍa*. Sometimes a *viṣaya* was named after a *khaṇḍa* as in the case of

218. Nos. 13 and 14.

219. No. 19

220. S. Tripathy, *op.cit.*, 1-48.

221. *OHRJ*, XXXII, 43-57 and plates. Some of the verses in this grant appear to have been adopted from the records of the Bhañjas of Khijjiṅgakotṭa.

222. No. 16. The name of the *viṣaya* has been inadvertantly written as Tamura in this grant.

Talcher plate of Śivakara IV²²³ which refers to a subdivision called *Koraṭṭi-khaṇḍa* situated in the *Madhyama-khaṇḍa viṣaya*. One of the Ganjam grants²²⁴ of Daṇḍimahādevī mentions a subdivision called *Pūrva-khaṇḍa* situated in the district called *Varaḍā-khaṇḍa viṣaya*. Similarly, Śravaṇakatikā-*viṣaya* mentioned in the grant of Vakulamahādevī²²⁵ had one of the subdivisions called *Uregodḍā-khaṇḍa*.

The epigraphic records of the Śailodbhavas, who preceeded the Bhauma-Karas in Koṅgodamaṇḍala, reveal the names of as many as 10 *viṣayas* or districts included in their dominions. Out of these at least three districts are found to have been mentioned in the Bhauma records. The Baḍakhimeḍi grant²²⁶ of the time of Śivakara II Unmaṭṭakeśarin mentions a *viṣaya* of Koṅgodamaṇḍala named Vartani which is known to have existed even before the time of the Śailodbhavas. In the Gupta era 283 (c.603 A.D.), it was known as Vorttanaka as revealed by the Patiakella grant of Śivarāja, a subordinate king under the Mudgala suzerain named Śambhuyaśas,²²⁷ who remained in charge of Koṅgodamaṇḍala, then included in Dakṣiṇa Tosali. During the period of Śailodbhava rule it became a part of their kingdom of Koṅgodamaṇḍala and formed a *viṣaya*. The Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja is known to have granted a land situated in this *viṣaya*.²²⁸ The Bhauma-Kara princess Daṇḍimahādevī is also known to have granted a village in this *viṣaya*.²²⁹ It has been identified with the present locality of Bartini situated in the Athagarh *taluk* of the Ganjam district. The gift village called Garasāmbhā of this grant has been read by others²³⁰ as Rasambhā and identified with the present locality of Rambhā in the Chatrapur *taluk* of the Ganjam district which is far away from Bartini.

The Dharakote plate of Śubhākara IV²³¹ mentions another *viṣaya* of Koṅgodamaṇḍala, named Jayakaṭaka which is also found in the Cuttack Museum plates of the Śailodbhava king Mādhavavarman II²³² mentioned as Jayapura-*viṣaya*, its cheif locality being Jayapura or Jayakaṭaka. It was also

223. No. 12.

224. No. 17.

225. No. 21. The place-names in this grant have been doubtfully read.

226. *IHQ*, XII, 489-493; S.N. Rajaguru, *IO*, II, 258-263.

227. *EI*, IX, 285-288.

228. *JBORS*, XVI, 176ff.

229. No. 18. It has been wrongly read as Narttani by F. Kielhorn and B. Misra.

230. B. Misra, *OUBK*, 61.

231. No. 9.

232. *EI*, XXIV, 148-153.

then known as Kaṭakabhukti-*viṣaya*.²³³ Possibly, it formed a secondary political headquarters (*kaṭaka*) during the Śailodbhavas. Jayapura or Jayakaṭak has been identified with its present name-sake, situated in Purushottampur Police Station on the bank of the river Ṛṣikulyā in the district of Ganjam. The Śailodbhava grants further inform us that this *viṣaya* was situated in the eastern division (*Pūrvakhaṇḍa*). The eastern bank of the said river near Purushottampur is still known as Pūrvakhaṇḍa.

Another *viṣaya* called Varadākhaṇḍa mentioned in one of the grants of Daṇḍimahādevī,²³⁴ is stated to have been situated in the Pūrvakhaṇḍa-*viṣaya*. This *viṣaya* was obviously contiguous to the above *viṣaya* of Jayakaṭaka, on the eastern side of the Baḍanadī or the ancient Mahānadī, a tributary of Ṛṣikulyā. It has been identified with the present locality called Vāruḍā, situated at a distance of about 7 miles from Russelkonda in the Bhanjanagar Police Station in the Ganjam district. The same locality is found mentioned as Vārāḍḍā in the Russelkonda grant of Neṭṭabhañja²³⁵ of Drumarājakula. The gift village Villagrāma of the grant of Daṇḍimahādevī can be identified with Billipaḍā situated in the Bhanjanagar Police Station and the boundary village of Khairapuṭi is the present locality of the same name and situated contiguous to Billipaḍā. Another boundary village called Hoṇḍalagrāma mentioned in this grant cannot be identified at the present state though attempt has been made²³⁶ to identify it with the present Huṇḍālu in Athagarh *taluk* of the Ganjam district which is far away from Bhanjanagar.

The Kumurang plate²³⁷ refers to another *viṣaya* of Koṅgodamaṇḍala, named Khiṇḍingahāra. This has been identified with Khiṇḍiṅgi in the Kodala *taluk* of the Ganjam district.²³⁸ B. Misra identified it with another locality called Khedajhari near the Chilka lake in the Puri district and the gift village Kaṁsarānagarī with Ghaṇṭaśilā situated about 5 miles to the west of the same lake.²³⁹ It is to be noted that Ghaṇṭaśilā is said to be the find-spot of this plate of Daṇḍimahādevī. There is a locality named Kumaṅga-śāsan or Kumurāṅga-śāsan, situated very close to Ghaṇṭaśilā in the Banpur Police

233. *EI*, XI, 281-287.

234. No. 17.

235. *EI*, XXVIII, 258ff; B. Das, *The Bhauma-Karas and their Times*, 87; he has identified it with Buguda in the Ganjam district.

236. U.K. Subuddhi, *The Bhauma-Karas of Orissa*, 93.

237. No. 20.

238. *EI*, XXI, 38.

239. *OUBK*, 61.

Station in the Puri district which seems to be the same as Kaṁsarānagari of the record. This locality is situated on the left bank of the river Sāliā, the ancient Sālimā of the Śailodbhava records and the present township of Banpur is only 2 kms. away from this place on the oppsite bank of the same river. Thus the above grant of Daṇḍimahādevī enables us to have an idea on the extent of the *viṣaya* of Kḥiṇḍiṅgahāra which included the area on the left bank of the river Sāliā in Banpur Police Station of the Puri district and the localities in the Kodala Police Station of the Ganjam district which is situated on the border of Banpur P.S. The place-names of this *viṣaya* found in the Śailodbhava charters have been identified with their present names situated in this Kodala *taluk*. This *viṣaya* is also found mentioned in the charter of Charamparāja²⁴⁰ who ruled Koṅgodamaṇḍala, perhaps immediately before the rise of the Śailodbhavas under Mādhavarāja II Sainyabhīta.

Another *viṣaya* of Dakṣiṇa Tosali named Antarudra is found in the Chaurasi grant of Śivakara II²⁴¹ who granted the village of Vuvraḍā, situated in this *viṣaya*. It has been identified with Antarodha *pargana* in the Sadar sub-division of the district of Puri included at present in the Nimapara Police Station. According to N. Tripathi²⁴² the said *pargana* forms a part of the said Police Station after which the boundary of Cuttack district begins. Chaurasi, the find spot of the grant, is stated to have been situated in this *pargana* and the gift village of this charter has been identified with present locality of Vanvardā, situated about 5 kms. from Chaurasi in the Nimapara Police Station. He also informs us that the said village consists of the Brāhmaṇas belonging to Kātyāyana *gotra* which is also the *gotra* of the donee of our record.

The Terundia plate of Śubhākara III²⁴³ mentions the *viṣaya* named Sulāntarakurbha which cannot be identified satisfactorily at the present state. But the village named Taramaṇḍapa, stated to have been the residence of the donees of the charter, can be easily identified with present locality of Terundia or Tirundia, the findspot of the record. It is now situated in the Nimapara Police Station of the Puri district, on the right bank of the river Kuśabhadrā, a tributary of the Mahānadī. The charter mentions that the village of Lavāgaṇḍā was granted in favour of a number of Brāhmaṇas for

240. S.N. Rajaguru, *IO*, II, 323-329; Khandipada-Nuapalli, the findspot of this charter is situated in the Kodala P.S. of the Ganjam district.

241. No. 3.

242. *JBORS*, XIV, 306.

243. No. 7.

the upkeep of the *maṭhas* and *maṇḍapas* constructed in their village of Taramaṇḍapa. It is to be noted that antiquarian remains are very often found in this village.

The Talcher plate of Śubhākara V²⁴⁴ refer to Maḍera-*viṣaya* situated in the division of Dakṣiṇa Tosali. B.Misra²⁴⁵ identified the gift village of this *viṣaya* Adḍhendakoṇā with Adhaigaṇḍi in the ex-State of Narasingpur in the Cuttack district. But this identification cannot be accepted on the ground that the district of Cuttack on the northern bank of the river Mahānadi was included in the division of Uttara Tosali of the Bhauma-Kara kingdom. Hence, the said *viṣaya* along with the gift village seems to have been situated somewhere in the district of Puri which was included in the Dakṣiṇa Tosali division of their kingdom.

The Sāntiragrāma grant of Daṇḍimahādevī refers to a *viṣaya* called Talamura,²⁴⁶ stated inadvertently to have been situated in the division of Dakṣiṇa Tosali. The identification of the localities mentioned on this *viṣaya* would suggest that Dakṣiṇa Tosali has been wrongly recorded in place of Uttara Tosali. The gift village in this *viṣaya* was included within Paścimakhaṇḍa (western division) of the province of Yamagarttamaṇḍala, then under the control of *rāṇaka* Apsarodeva, a feudatory under Daṇḍimahādevī. The *viṣaya* is believed, by earlier scholars, to have been situated in the ex-State of Pallahara.²⁴⁷ Talamura continued as a *viṣaya* or district as revealed by the charter of Dharmamahādevī,²⁴⁸ the last known ruling member of the Bhauma-Kara family. There are a number of localities named Talmul, Garh-Talmul, Talmul-śāsan, Talmul-pātaṇā, situated contiguous to each other, on the western bank of the river Brāhmaṇi in the Angul Police Station of the Dhenkanal district. There is a village called Garh-Sāntri, situated contiguous to Garh-Talmul under the same Police Station, which is obviously the same as Sāntiragrāma, the gift village of Daṇḍimahādevī's record. Another locality called Komyasaṅga, donated along with Sāntiragrāma, may be the same as the present village of Kumurusiṅgā or Kusasiṅgā which are situated not very far from Garh-Sāntri in the Angul Police Station of the Dhenkanal district. The *viṣaya* of Taramura or Talamura being situated on the western bank of

244. No. 10.

245. OUBK, 32-39, he has read the name of the *viṣaya* as Manera.

246. No. 16; EI, XXIX, 79ff, D.C. Sircar has read the *viṣaya* name as Tamura. But the letter *l* after *t* has been inadvertently left out by the engraver.

247. EI, XXIX, 79-89.

248. No. 23. This charter mentions Taramura.

the river Brāhmaṇī, the area was called Paścimakhaṇḍa. The village named Tarataloi, granted by Dharmamahādevī in her above charter, has been identified with the present locality of Taltali in the Angul Police Station, which is also the findspot of her inscription. Another village called Koṇsallā mentioned in this charter as the donee's residence, has been identified with a contiguous locality bordering on the Hindol Police Station in the same district. The Angul plate²⁴⁹ of Dharmamahādevī mention that 10 *mālas* of land in the village called Deśalagrāma was granted to a Brāhmaṇa donee. It is to be noted that the said charter was not issued from the Bhauma capital of Guheśvarapāṭaka. Instead, the royal order relating to the grant was addressed by the queen in the village of Sākemvāgrāma. These localities, however, cannot be satisfactorily identified at the present state, but they may presumably be taken to have been situated in the Angul sub-division of the Dhenkanal district, as both the charters of this queen are said to have been discovered from this area. Moreover, the Brāhmaṇa donees of both of her grants are known to have belonged to the same *gotra* and migrated from Kolāṇca, situated somewhere in Northern India. They possibly belonged to the same family.

The Neulpur grant of Śubhākara II²⁵⁰ mentions two *viṣayas* named Pāñcāla and Vubhyudaya, situated in the division of Uttara Tosali. They were evidently contiguous to each other. The two villages named Parvatadroni-Komparāka and Daṇḍāṅkiyoka, stated to have been situated respectively in these two *viṣayas*, were granted in favour of 204 Brāhmaṇas of different *gotras* and student of different Vedas. These two villages were made one locality and renamed as Solanapura at the time of declaration of the grant. This locality is now known as Solampur, situated about three kms. north of Jajpur on the northern bank of the river Vaitaraṇī in the Bhaṇḍāripokhari Police Station of the Balasore district. Reference to this Solanapura is found in a charter of Kaṇḍadeva,²⁵¹ the last known Somavaṁśin ruler of Kosala and Utkala, in the context of Buddhist *mahāvihāra*, situated in this locality. As a matter of fact, several antiquarian remains including those of the Buddhist faith are known to have been discovered from this place.²⁵² Thus the area now comprising Bhaṇḍāripokhari Police Station, situated at a close proximity of Jajpur on the opposite bank of the Vaitaraṇī, constituted two

249. No. 22.

250. No. 4.

251. *EI*, XXXIII, 263; S.N. Rajaguru, *IO*, IV, 253-259ff.

252. B. Das, *The Bhauma-Karas and their Times*, 149.

ancient districts of Pāñcāla and Vubhyudaya. The original names of the two contiguous gift villages cannot be traced now, as they were made one locality with its new name of Solaṇapura. Scholars have, however, attempted to identify those two villages with their present names. B. Misra identified Komparāka²⁵³ with Kupāri and Pāñcāla *viṣaya* with Pañcamāla *pargana* in the Balasore district. He identified Vubhyudaya *viṣaya* with Bāghuāḍi, a locality situated about 15 miles to the north-east of Jajpur in the Cuttack district.²⁵⁴ But we cannot accept this identification as the said locality is situated on the southern bank of the river Vaitaraṇī. The *viṣaya* could not have situated apart, separated from each other by the river.

The Hindol plate of Śubhākara IV²⁵⁵ was granted in the Uttara Tosali division of his kingdom, in the *viṣaya* called Koṅkavirā. This may be identified with the present Kankalu which is also called Kankala, situated on the bank of a rivulet called Nigra-*nala* under the Balimi Police Station, previously included in the ex-State of Hindol, in the Dhenkanal district. Scholars have identified it with a village called Karavirā in the Hindol Police Station, and previously under the ex-State of Angul,²⁵⁶ which is far away from the gift village Noḍḍilo, the present Nandeilo on the bank of the said *nala* situated very close to the aforesaid Kankala. The place called Yavāgula-*pāṭikā*, perhaps indicating a contiguous locality where the temple named Pulindeśvara is stated to have been situated in the charter, cannot be satisfactorily identified at the present state. A contiguous village to Nandeilo, known as Brāhmaṇa-Puruṇākoṭe, situated on the bank of the same Nigra-*nala*, may tentatively be taken as the ancient Yavāgula-*pāṭikā*.

Another *viṣaya* or district named Pūrvarāṣṭra included in Uttara Tosali is known from the Talcher plate of Śivakara IV.²⁵⁷ This evidently constituted the area around Talcher sub-division on the bank of the river Brāhmaṇī in

253. *OUBK*, 3; he reads Kompāraka; others have also followed the same reading, cf. U.K. Subuddhi, *The Bhauma-Karas of Orissa*, 90; B. Das, *The Bhauma-Karas and their Times*, 90. Das believes that the village named Daṇḍāṅkiyoka constituted two separate villages, viz., Daṇḍāṅki and Yoka. According to his opinion, three villages were granted by Śubhākara, viz., Daṇḍāṅki and Yoka in the *viṣaya* of Vubhyudaya and Kompāraka in the *viṣaya* of Pāñcāla, which were combined one village under the name of Solaṇapura.

254. B. Misra, *op.cit.*, 3.

255. No. 8.

256. B. Misra, *OUBK*, 13; U.K. Subuddhi, *op.cit.*, 87.

257. No. 11.

the district of Dhenkanal. There is a village called Kalyanpur which may be the same as the gift village Kallāṇigrāma of the above charter. This locality is situated in the Kaniha Police Station of the Talcher sub-division. The Buddhist monastery called Jayāśrama-vihāra mentioned in this charter, appears to have been situated in the locality of Jayapura which is obviously the present village of the same name situated contiguous to Kalyanpur.²⁵⁸ This Jayapura was the political headquarters of the Nandodbhavas of Airāvattamaṇḍala and also, for sometime, came under the control of the Tuṅga rulers of Yamagarttamaṇḍala. It may be pointed out here that the above grant of Śivakara IV was made at request of Vinītatūṅga, evidently a Tuṅga ruler. Presumably, the eastern part of the area comprising the present Talcher sub-division which came under the control of the Tuṅgas for some time, formed the *viṣaya* of Pūrvarāṣṭra.

Another Talcher plate of the same Bhauma ruler²⁵⁹ refers to Madhyamakhanda *viṣaya* (literally meaning the middle division). This *viṣaya* was also included in the dominions of Vinītatūṅga as is evident from this charter of Śivakara IV. Possibly, the present Angul-Purunakote region comprised the earlier *viṣaya* of Madhyamakhanda. The gift village Surabhipura and other villages constituting its boundaries, cannot be identified satisfactorily.²⁶⁰

Vakulamahādevī, the second queen of Śubhākara VI and the step-mother of Daṇḍimahādevī, is known from her charter²⁶¹ to have granted a village called Chodātavutsā situated in the division of Uregodḍākhaṇḍa of the *viṣaya* named Śraṇakatikā in Uttara Tosali. The readings of all these

258. B. Misra identified Kallāṇigrāma with a locality named Kalam in the ex-State of Keonjhar, but this will be far from Jayapura and Jayāśrama-vihāra, *OUBK*, 42.

259. No. 12.

260. B. Misra and following him, others read the name of the gift village as Śuraddhipura and identified it with a locality called Sirdarpur in the ex-State of Talcher. Tamalā-khaṇḍakṣetra has been read as Tamālā-khaṇḍakṣetra in this record and identified with Tamur in the ex-State of Pallahara in the Dhenkanal district. The name of the streams or rivulets mentioned in this record forming the boundaries of the gift village have been wrongly read and identified with those found in the ex-State of Pallahara and ex-State of Keonjhar. These identifications cannot be accepted on the ground that they are situated far away from the so-called Sirdarpur and the boundaries of a village cannot be so extensive covering all these geographical units, situated far away from the gift village itself,—*OUBK*, 51; U.K. Subuddhi, *The Bhauma-Karas of Orissa*, 91.

261. No. 21.

place names are extremely doubtful and cannot be identified at the present state.

Besides the Sāntiragrāma grant of Daṇḍimahādevī discussed above, which is now known to have been made in the division of Uttara Tosali, her Arabāla charter²⁶² is also known to have been issued granting a village named Aravāla, situated within the *viṣaya* of Teṇḍahāra in Uttara Tosali. The *viṣaya* of Teṇḍahāra may be the present area around Dharmasala Police Station in the Cuttack district on the left bank of the river Brāhmaṇī. The gift village is still known as Arabāla which is also the findspot of the said charter and is situated on the bank of the same river on the opposite side of Jajpur, under the Dharmasala Police Station. This area is abundant with Buddhist and Brahmanical antiquities generally assigned to the period of the Bhauma-Karas.²⁶³

The two copper-plate charters²⁶⁴ of Pṛthvīmahādevī *alias* Tribhuvanamahādevī II were granted in Daṇḍabhuktimāṇḍala of the Uttara Tosali division of the Bhauma-Kara kingdom. Daṇḍabhukti seems to have formed a feudatory state under the Bhauma-Kara suzerainty. It comprised the south-western part of Midnapore district in West Bengal and the northern part of Balasore district i.e., the area situated north of the river Suvarṇarekhā. The south-eastern part of the Mayurbhanj district also seems to have been included in this province of the Bhauma-Karas.²⁶⁵ One of the *viṣayas* of this province was named Tamālakhāṇḍa as known from the aforesaid copper-plate charters of Pṛthvīmahādevī. This has been taken to be the same as the area around the present Tamluk in Midnapore district of West Bengal. Another *viṣaya* called Dakṣiṇakhāṇḍa, mentioned in these charters has been identified with Dakinmal of the Mughal revenue records and said to have been situated in the Contai sub-division of the Midnapore district.²⁶⁶

The Dhenkanal grant of Tribhuvanamahādevī²⁶⁷ I mentions Olāśrama

262.. No. 19.

263. B. Das, *The Bhauma-Karas and their Times*, 149; U.K. Subuddhi, *The Bhauma-Karas of Orissa*, 141. A large number of Buddhist and Brahmanical sculptures collected from this area are now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar.

264. Nos. 13 and 14.

265. *OHRJ*, XXXII, 43-57.

266. *EI*, XXIX, 215; B. Das, *The Bhauma-Karas and their Times*, 89, and note 2.

267. No. 15; the charter does not specify the name of the division of Tosali. Its provenance and the identification of the places mentioned in it would tend to suggest that it was granted in Uttara Tosali.

viṣaya, stated to have been situated in Tosali, which may be the present Alosing or Alusing in the Hindol Police Station of the Dhenkanal district. The gift village Kontasyarā may accordingly be the same as the present locality of Kansarā under the same Police station. B.Misra has identified Olāśrama with Olasa and Kontasyarā with Kanṭāparā in the Cuttack district.²⁶⁸

A locality was sometimes divided into smaller units, such as *pāṭaka*, *cheda*, *khaṇḍakṣetra* etc. Sometimes, a *pāṭaka* denoted a hamlet placed under a village or a township for administrative purpose, contiguous to it.²⁶⁹ A *khaṇḍakṣetra*²⁷⁰ evidently denoted an adjacent hamlet of a bigger village. Sometimes, a small part of a particular village was called *pāṭikā* in place of *pāṭaka* which seems to have denoted a larger area of the same village. We have reference to a *pāṭikā* called Yavāgula-*pāṭika* which formed a part of the gift village Nodḍilo as mentioned in the Hindol grant of Śubhākara IV.²⁷¹ Sometimes, *pāṭaka* denoted a sub-urban area of a big township as found suffixed with the name of the Bhauma capital Guheśvara-*pāṭaka* which formed an adjacent area of the township of Virajā. The Bhauma records seldom refer the *cheda* denoting a smaller part of a locality.²⁷²

Administrative System

The epigraphic records shed welcome light on the administrative system followed by the Bhauma rulers. The form of government was obviously monarchical and the kingship was hereditary. But records would also make us believe that in the absence of legitimate male claimant in the family, the widowed queens very often assumed power of ruling the kingdom. The earliest such incident took place when Śubhākara IV died leaving a minor son named Śāntikara II. Tribhuvanamahādevī I, the widowed queen of Śāntikara I and the mother of Śubhākara IV, was raised to the throne with the help of the feudatories who owed allegiance to the Bhauma-Karas. In fact, she acted as the queen-regent for her minor grandson and relinquished the throne when Śāntikara II attained majority. Hīrāmahādevī, the queen of Śāntikara II, also ruled for some time after her husband's death when her two sons were too young to hold the reins of government. Though we have

268. B. Misra, *OUBK*, 24.

269. No. 13, cf. *Nānneśvara-tala-pāṭaka* in line 27; also cf. *Guheśvara-pāṭaka*.

270. No. 14, cf. *Utthukā-khaṇḍakṣetra* in line 27.

271. No. 8.

272. No. 20.

not yet come across any record of this queen, she is known from her sons' records to have assumed the sovereign titles of *paramabhaṭṭārikā*, *mahārājādhirāja* and *parameśvarī*, indicating her assumption of power for some time till at least her sons Śubhākara V and Śivakara IV came of age. These two brothers succeeded one after the other. The genealogy of the family would show that after the death of these two brothers, the Bhauma kingdom passed into the hands of the female members, the widowed queens and a princess of the dynasty who dominated the Bhauma politics for about 50 years till the ultimate downfall of this dynastic rule. It is to be noted Tribhuvanamahādevī I, who lived a long life and witnessed the death of her son and grandson, also acted as queen-regent for the two minor sons of Śivakara IV named Śāntikara III and Śubhākara VI ascended the throne for the second time after successfully suppressing the rebellion staged by the queen of Śubhākara V, Pṛthvīmahādevī *alias* Tribhuvanamahādevī II. But probably she did not live longer to see these two sons of Śivakara IV succeeding each other. However, they did not remain long on the throne mainly due to the internecine struggle for succession. Hence, in the absence of a male member, the daughter of Śubhākara VI named Daṇḍimahādevī ascended the throne and successfully shouldered the burden of administration for a considerable period. She was succeeded by her step-mother Vakulamahādevī. The last known ruler of the dynasty was also a widowed queen of Śāntikara III named Dharmamahādevī. Thus the successive rule of the female members would indicate that the tradition of ancient Indian polity was not followed in the case of this dynasty, i.e., a male relative of the minor ruler acting as regent. This was mainly because of the absence of male members in the family.

The sovereign status of the Bhauma-Karas is proved by the assumption of full imperial titles borne by them and the introduction of an era of their own. From the earliest known copper-plate charter, i.e., of Śivakara II²⁷³ till the latest, i.e., of Dharmamahādevī,²⁷⁴ all the ruling members had borne the sovereign titles of *paramabhaṭṭāraka*, (*paramabhaṭṭārikā*, in the case of a female ruler), *mahārājādhirāja* and *parameśvara* (*parameśvarī* in the case of female ruler).

The king or the queen was regarded as the head of administrative affairs of the kingdom. As already mentioned above, the kingdom was divided into several administrative units such as *maṇḍala* or province, *viṣaya* or district,

273. No. 3.

274. No. 23.

khaṇḍa or division of a *viṣaya* etc. which were under the charge of a hierarchy of royal officers to assist the king or queen in the administration. A long list of officials with their designations is usually found mentioned in the copper-plate records in connection with the royal grants. We find generally two groups of officials mentioned in these records. One group of those who were associated with the administration of the main divisions of the kingdom, such as Uttara Tosali and Dakṣiṇa Tosali. The other group was generally connected with the lower units of these divisions, such as *viṣaya*, *khaṇḍa*, *bhoga*, *grāma*, *pāṭaka* etc. The list of officials mentioned in connection with the main division of the kingdom or a *maṇḍala*, includes, generally, *mahāsāmanta*, *mahārāja*, *rājaputra*, *antaraṅga*, *kumārāmātya*, *uparika*, *viṣayapati*, *tadāyuktaka*, *daṇḍapāśika* and *sthānāntarika*. A few records, such as the Sāntiragrāma grant of Daṇḍimahādevī, mentions *rājasatka* in place of *antaraṅga* and her Ganjam grant mentions *rāṇaka* in place of *mahāsāmanta* and *mahārāja*, and sometimes *sāmanta* and *sāmavāji* have been mentioned.²⁷⁵ The designation of *tadāyuktaka* is sometimes mentioned as *tadāniyuktaka*.²⁷⁶ The second list of officials mentioned in connection with the administration of district and its lower units are as follows : *mahāmahattara*, *brhadbhogin*, *pustakapāla*, *kuṭakolasa* and their *adhikaraṇas* or assistants. *Pustakapāla* in some charters has been written as *pustapāla*.²⁷⁷ The grants of Vakulamahādevī and Dharmamahādevī²⁷⁸ refer to *dalahita*, *sāmanta* and *sāmavāji* in addition to *brhadbhogin*, *pustakapāla*, *kuṭakolasa* etc., in connection with the administration of a district and its lower units. Besides, we occasionally come across references to ministers and poets appointed in the royal court, the royal scribe, the engraver, the goldsmith and the brazier serving for the royal court in connection with the execution of the copper-plate grants. The name of one poet was Jambhala in the court of Daṇḍimahādevī²⁷⁹ who was endowed with the title of *mahākavi*. He also served as *mahākavi* in the court of Vakulamahādevī.²⁸⁰ There were some feudatories who acted as ministers in the Bhauma court and were designated as *partihāra* and *mahāsandhi-vigrahika*, apart from their feudatory title of *rāṇaka*. There were also other

275. Nos. 16 and 17.

276. No. 9.

277. Nos. 3, 4, 7 and 8.

278. Nos. 21 and 23.

279. Nos. 17 and 20.

280. No. 21.

higher officers or feudal lords designated as *mahākṣapaṭalādhikṛta* and *mahākṣapaṭalika*, who very often assumed the feudatory royal title of *rāṇaka*.²⁸¹ Sometimes, one notices a *mahākṣapaṭalika* holding the title of *brhadbhogin*.²⁸² The copper-plate records of the Bhauma-Karas have been engraved by *taṭṭhakāra* or the brazier and their stone inscriptions²⁸³ by the mason called *suṭradhāra*.

The official designations mentioned in the Bhauma records are also found in the records of the Gupta kings and in that of Harṣa of the earlier period.²⁸⁴ In the Orissan inscriptions of the earlier period we find in addition to these designations such as *deśākṣapaṭalādhikṛta*, *mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, *talavara*, *mahābalādhikṛta*,²⁸⁵ official often holding the post of an *amātya* or minister. Two other designations of earlier records, such as *rahasika* or *rahasyādhikṛta* and *senāpati*²⁸⁶, have not been found in the Bhauma records.

The exact nature of the powers and functions of many of the officers mentioned in the Bhauma records cannot be satisfactorily explained nor we have a systematic account of the administrative machinery of the central, provincial and the local governments of the period under discussion. The list of officials, however, enables us to form a general idea of the administrative machinery and the various departments through which it was carried on. The titles of *mahārāja* and *mahāsāmanta* and *rāṇaka* denoted evidently the feudatory or subordinate rulers holding provinces or *maṇḍalas* and petty principalities, enjoying more or less subordinate position and power. We have a long list of feudatory rulers bearing the title of *rāṇaka* found in the Bhauma records. They sometimes acted as *mahāsandhivigrahika* or minister for war and peace.²⁸⁷ In the execution of royal grants the *rāṇakas* very often acted as *dūtaka* or the chief excutor.²⁸⁸ Besides being the *dūtaka*, a *rāṇaka* was often appointed as *mahākṣapaṭalādhikṛta*. This designation is sometimes interpreted to be the same as the Accountant General. He seems to have been responsible for transactions of land and the copper-plate charters were issued through his office, on behalf of the king. So, this

281. Nos. 11, 12, 13 and 14.

282. No. 8.

283. No. 2.

284. D.C. Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, I, 284-286ff; 324; 332-34ff; 360ff; *EI*, IV, 208ff.

285. *EI*, XXX, 112-118; *OHRJ*, VI, 106ff; *EI*, XXVIII, 175ff; 227-35ff.

286. *EI*, XXVIII, 12-16; XXI, 153-157.

287. No. 19.

288. Nos. 11, 12, 13, 14, 17 and 20.

officer, usually being a minister or a feudal lord, also acted as *dūtaka*, whose duty was to act as a royal delegate of the king in connection with the religious grants and endowments and enjoyed high rank in the administrative hierarchy. It seems, the designation of *dūtaka* does not denote any regular office. Very often, it is noticed that a *dūtaka* is meant to convey the order of the king about the land grant and to look after the due execution of the copper-plate charter of the said grant to local officers, through the office of the *mahākṣapaṭalādhikṛta*. During the Bhauma rule, a prince of the royal blood with the royal title of *rājaputra* also often assumed this office. The Arabala grant of Daṇḍimahādevī refers to one *rājaputra* Koṭṭabhañja as *mahākṣapaṭalādhikṛta* and *dūtaka*.²⁸⁹ The feudatories or the subordinate kings, those bearing the royal title of *mahārāja*, seem to have enjoyed higher rank, probably of semi-independent status.

The office of *mahākṣapaṭalika* was placed in a lower rank than that of the *mahākṣapaṭalādhikṛta* and the officer holding this office also was sometimes endowed with the feudatory title of *rāṇaka*. The aforesaid Arabala grant refers to *rāṇaka* Khaga as the *mahākṣapaṭalika*, who is also designated as *bhogin*. It is noticed that a *bhogin* was usually entrusted with the duty of the office of the *mahākṣapaṭalika*. During the early medieval period in Orissa, a group of villages was called a *bhoga* and the person enjoying the status of the head of those villages was usually designated as *bhogin*. Further, the head of several groups of villages was called *brhad-bhogin*. We come across in almost all the Bhauma records the *bhogin* and *brhadbhogin* in the long list of officials associated with the district and village administration. The persons were designated *bhogin* or *brhadbhogin* according to the status they enjoyed. Probably, Khaga of the Arabala grant might have had under his control a group of *bhogas*, thereby acquired the feudatory title of *rāṇaka*. He is also found to have been designated as *pratihāra*, the original meaning of which is the chamberlain or the royal door-keeper. Another of his designations is *mahāsandhivigrahika*, denoting the chief of the office of the ministry of war and peace and foreign affairs. There seems to have been a department of the *pratihāras*, the chief among them was called *mahāpratihāra*. The Ganjam grant of Daṇḍimahādevī²⁹⁰ refers to an officer named Prahāsa or Prabhāsa and designated a *mahāpratihāra*, in connection with the execution of the said grant. The writer of her Arabala grant has been designated as *mahāsandhivigrahika*, *rāṇaka* and also

289. No. 19.

290. No. 17.

mahākṣapāṭalika. Apart from the above offices held by the persons of royal blood, enjoying higher rank in the administrative hierarchy, there were still others, such as the office of *kumārāmātya*. This official designation is known since the days of the Mauryas, the Guptas and others of ancient Indian history. Originally it denoted a *kumāra* or prince of the royal family holding the post of a provincial governor. During the Bhauma rule in Orissa, the function of *kumārāmātya* is not known exactly, but he was probably a responsible executive officer of high rank of a province or of a particular division of the kingdom.

Another official designation, usually mentioned immediately after *kumārāmātya* is *uparika*. In earlier times, the person appointed as *uparika* enjoyed the status of a head of the province or a governor in the modern sense of the term. Presumably, he enjoyed the same position in the Bhauma-Kara reign. It is, however, generally believed that he was responsible to the monarch for the revenue settlements of the province or the division of the kingdom under his administration.

The Sāntiragrāma grant of Daṇḍimahādevī refers to an official designation called *rājastaka* in place *antaraṅga*. This may literally mean 'belonging to the king'. Probably, *rājasatka* and *antaraṅga* denoted the same meaning. *Antaraṅga* is sometimes believed to indicate the 'physician of the royal court'²⁹¹ and again, according to some scholars, a 'kinsman of the king'²⁹². He may, perhaps, be taken as a confidential adviser to the king on important administrative matters relating to a particular division of the kingdom under his jurisdiction. This designation is frequently met with in the Bhauma records in the long list of officials associated with the administration of a division of the kingdom. It is also known from the Śailodbhava records of the earlier period. It is usually found mentioned in the Bhauma copper-plate charters immediately after *rājaputra*.

The list of officials next mentions *viṣayapati* which is well-known since the days of the Gupta rulers of Northern India. The person bearing this designation was the head of administration of a *viṣaya* or a district. The designation is still prevalent in Orissa in its corrupt form as *Bisoyi* and used as the family name or surname. *Tadāyuktaka* mentioned in the list immediately after *viṣayapati* may denote a subordinate officer under the rank of *viṣayapati*, and may have been associated with the district administration.

Next to this officer is mentioned *daṇḍapāśika* or *dāṇḍapāśika* who is

291. *EI*, XXIX, 85.

292. B. Misra, *OUBK*, 97.

generally believed to denote the chief of the police staff of a district, whose duty was to maintain law and order in the district under his jurisdiction. The expression is now known in Oriya as *daṇḍuāsi* or *daṇḍāsi* denoting a watchman of (*chowkidar*) a village or a group of villages. It is now used as a family name. The officer designated as *sthānāntarika* seems to have been in charge of police functions, one of whose duties was to submit reports to the king relating to the latest developments in the district under his jurisdiction.

Apart from the above list of officers, there is the usual mention of *çāṭas* and *bhaṭas* in almost all the Bhauma-Kara copper-plate records. References to these expressions are also found in all other early medieval copper-plate records of different royal families. They are generally taken to denote the regular and irregular soldiers respectively.

The second list of officials mentioned in all the extant Bhauma copper-plate grants is indicated to have been associated with the administration of a village or a group of villages. Of these officers, *mahāmahattara* is known since the days of the Gupta monarchs of Northern India. A group of village elders called *mahattars*, constituting the village council, seem to have been headed by *mahāmahattara* or the chief among the *mahattaras*. Similarly, *brhad-bhogin* was regarded as the chief of the *bhogins*. *Bhoga*, as we have noticed in earlier records, was constituted by a group of villages. A group of *bhogas* made a *viṣaya* and often named after the principal *bhoga*, such as *Mahendra-bhoga viṣaya*.

The Bhauma-Kara records refer to an officer called *peṭakapāla* and sometimes in local Prakrit as *peḍāpāla*²⁹³ or *peṭāpāla* in connection with the execution of copper-plate charter, especially related to the work of heating the copper plate for affixing the royal seal. This officer possibly acted as a storekeeper of royal record department and was in charge of the royal seal. The grant of Tribhuvanamahādevī I²⁹⁴ is stated to have been heated by a person named Vīrasena, a bearer of uncleaned water (*malin-āmbu-vāhaka*). He seems to have belonged to the poorer section and to a lower caste of the society. No official designation has been attached to his name.

There is reference to another officer called *pustakapāla* in the list of officers connected with the district administration in majority of the Bhauma copper-plate records. Sometimes, the designation is inadvertently written as *pustapāla*. He is generally believed to be the keeper of royal records or

293. Nos. 4, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13 and 14.

294. No. 15.

official registers concerning landed property within a district.

Some copper-plate grants of Daṇḍimahādevī²⁹⁵ and her successors²⁹⁶ refer to the officers designated as *sāmanta*, *sāmavāji* and *dalahita* in place of *mahāmahattara* and *brahad-bhogin* who were associated with district administration. Though the exact rank of the officers cannot be explained satisfactorily, they were probably associated with army administration. *Dalahita* is perhaps a synonym for *dalavāya* or *dal-ādhikārin*, otherwise called a *senāpati*, 'a commander of forces'. The word *dala* is regarded to be of Telugu-Kannāḍa origin, denoting army.²⁹⁷ It is to be noted that *dalāi* a corrupt form of the expression *dalavāya*, is used in Orissa as a family name. *Sāmavāji* perhaps denoted a commander of cavalry.

The official designation of *kuṭakolasa* or *kuṭakola* found in connection with district administration has been explained by earlier scholars as the 'guardian of the fort'.²⁹⁸ But, it seems to have denoted an officer associated with revenue administration of a village or a district. It is also believed by some scholars to have denoted a headman of the cultivators, probably having similarity with *grāmakūṭa*.²⁹⁹

Lastly, the expression *s-ādy-adhikaraṇam* has been taken by scholars to be an official designation and explained as a judicial officer connected with the court of justice.³⁰⁰ According to others it denoted a commander of cavalry.³⁰¹ In fact, the expression literally means 'such other officers or official departments'. In the Bhauma records the expression *adhikaraṇa* has been referred to as a office of a particular department in its general sense.

Revenue

The epigraphic records of the Bhauma-Karas reveal interesting facts relating to the sources of revenue income. Land was however, the main source. The records would make us believe about the existence of several landed intermediaries, though the ultimate owner of all the lands within the kingdom was the king, during the period under discussion. The Bhauma rulers created various religious intermediaries in land, such as the Buddhists, the

295. No. 17.

296. Nos. 21 and 23.

297. D.C. Sircar, *IEG*, 78.

298. B. Misra, *OUBK*, 98.

299. D.C. Sircar, *IEG*, 120, 168.

300. *IHQ*, XXI, 217; B. Das, *The Bhauma-Karas and their Times*, 133.

301. B. Misra op.cit., 98.

Śaivites as well as other religious establishments who enjoyed such endowments. Apart from the Brāhmaṇas who were endowed with villages, several secular intermediaries were also rewarded with villages for services rendered to the state, though the records revealing such secular endowments are only occasionally met with during the Bhauma rule. The records do not directly refer to the customary taxes payable to the king and declare that the grants were made free from taxes. But the conventional payment of these taxes is apparent. The Chaurasi plate of Śivakara³⁰² declares the said grant made in favour of the Brāhmaṇa to be free from taxes. But at the same time, certain rights are stated to have been transferred to the donee which included *uparikara*, denoting the right to collect additional or unfixed taxes by the donee from the inhabitants of the granted village. This expression of *uparikara* has been found in all the extant copper-plate grants of the Bhauma-Karas. It would evidently indicate that besides the customary taxes payable to the king by the donee, there were additional taxes which were known as *uparikara* and the right to collect such additional taxes from the subjects of the gift village was conferred on the donee by the king. The records also specify transfer of several other rights relating to the collection of taxes and cess such as the right over the artisans residing in the gift village, right over such places as *kheṭa*, *ghaṭṭa*, *gulmaka* and *naditara-sthāna* etc., which would tend to suggest that the king transferred these rights of imposing additional taxes on these items in favour of the donee, but retained the right to collect the customary taxes from the donee, such as his share of the produces of the field, share of other revenue incomes in the form of metallic money as well as certain obligations to be met by the donee towards the king on the occasion of royal functions of socio-religious and political importance. In the Neulpur grant of Śubhākara II³⁰³ issued in favour of 204 Brāhmaṇas, though declared to have been a rent-free holding, the statement relating to the right to collect *uparikara* by the donee has not been omitted. Similarly, in the case of the Hindol plate of Śubhākara IV³⁰⁴ issued in favour of a Śiva temple, though declared to be rent-free, *uparikara* was to be paid by the inhabitants of the gift village. Thus the ultimate ownership of the land or the village of the king can be gleaned from these records. The collection of customary taxes was often made according to the rules laid down by the ancient *smṛti* texts. The taxes collected from, the

302. No. 3.

303. No. 4.

304. No. 8.

subjects were sometimes just and moderate. The Dhenkanal grant of Tribhuvanamahādevī I states that the rulers of her dynasty were “not oppressive of taxation and she too delighted her subjects by light taxation”.³⁰⁵

Sometimes, the revenue of a gift village was divided into several shares in order to meet the expenditure of the religious or secular establishments and also the grants made in favour of Brāhmaṇa settlements. The aforesaid Neulpur grant made in favour of 204 Brāhmaṇas of different *gotras* and *pravaras* by joining two villages into one locality with a new name as Solanapura. One of the objectives of this grant was evidently convenience of collection of revenue. The Hindol plate of Śubhākara IV³⁰⁶ refers to the gift village Nodḍilo. The collection of revenue from this locality was broadly divided into two shares. One half of the revenue collection was reserved to meet the expenditure towards worship of the deity named Vaidyanātha-bhaṭṭāraka, for the maintenance of the mendicants and for the repair of dilapidation of the temple of the said deity. The other half of the revenue was meant to meet the expenditure towards maintenance of the Śaivite *ācāryas*, for providing them garments, meals and medicines and also to pay the salary (*varṭtana*) of the *dānapati* or the Brāhmaṇa in charge of the worship of the aforesaid deity. The salary of the *dānapati* was fixed at 4 *paṇas* to be paid in metallic money (*hiraṇya*), apparently meant for payment per month. In addition, he was also sanctioned six *āḍhakas* of rice to be given daily, apparently as allowance in lieu of his services in the temple of lord Vaidyanātha (Śiva).

Similar references to the practice of paying salary to the servitors of the temples as well as the Buddhist monasteries are found in the two Talcher grants of Śivakara IV³⁰⁷ and the two grants of Pṛthvīmahādevī *alias* Tribhuvanamahādevī II³⁰⁸ though the sanctioned amount of the metallic money or the kind has not been specified in them. In fact, one of the four shares of the total revenue income of the granted village was reserved for the maintenance of the *dānapati* and his family, in lieu of his services. The Terundia grant of Śubhākara III³⁰⁹ was issued in favour of a number of Brāhmaṇas who were conferred with the right to collect revenue from the inhabitants of the gift village for the maintenance of the *maṭhas*, *maṇḍapas*.

305. No. 15, text lines, 6-7, 22-23.

306. No. 8.

307. Nos. 11 and 12.

308. Nos. 13 and 14.

309. No. 7.

and other secular buildings constructed in the village of Taramaṇḍapa which was the residence of the donees.

Land grants were often made in favour of the royal officers, to merchantile guilds and various business communities in lieu of the salary for their services to the king. Though such grants are stated to have been made rent-free, the donees were supposed to meet the expenditure towards certain obligations due to the granting authority, apart from the conventional taxes. Obviously, they used to impose additional taxes on the inhabitants of the granted village. The Talcher grant of Śubhākara V³¹⁰ was granted in favour of a person who belonged to a caste other than that of a Brāhmaṇa and who had been styled as *kulaputraka*. The expression has been literally taken to mean 'high born', an epithet of a person belonging to a noble family. The donee of this grant evidently belonged to a lower caste as the names of the *gotra* and *pravaras* are not to be found mentioned with his name as is usually noticed in the case of a Brāhmaṇa donees of other Bhauma copper-plate grants. The Ganjam grant of Daṇḍimahādevī³¹¹ also seems to have been issued in favour of an officer designated a *pratihāra* and a non-Brahmin by birth. Another Ganjam grant of this queen³¹² furnishes us with the interesting information that the donee of the same grant, Bhaṭṭa Puruṣottama of Kāśyapa *gotra*, transferred half of the gift village in favour of another Brahmin named Ravika of Kauśika *gotra*. He appeared to have sold the part of the landed property to Ravika along with the right to collect revenue from that transferred portion of the village. The ultimate royal ownership of land as traced in the ancient *smṛti* texts can be gleaned from this inscription. The peasants' tenureship of the donated village remained unaltered. So also the royal share of the total revenue collection. The donated villages were made permanent endowments to be enjoyed by the donee and his sons and grandsons on the basis of inheritance. The expression *uparikara* would also indicate that besides the customary taxes payable to the king, the owner of a village, the district administrator, the chieftain of a principality has the right to collect additional taxes in cash or kind in their respective area of jurisdiction which were permissible from time to time by the royal authority. But, at the same time, it may be presumed that, oppression or exploitation by any means was restricted by the ultimate authority.

The collection of revenue was generally made in kind and often in

310. No. 10.

311. No. 17.

312. No. 18.

money, either metallic or Cowrie-shells. This is evident from the reference to the salary sanctioned in favour of the *dānapati*, to be paid in money (*hiranya*) in the aforesaid Hindol copper-plate charter of Śubhākara IV. The person was to receive 4 *paṇas*, apparently per month. The amount of money might have been either metallic, such as silver or copper, or in the form of cowries. It is well known from the numismatic history of early medieval Orissa that the use of cowrie-shells in the day-to-day transactions, especially in the rural areas, was in abundance. The ancient Indian *Smṛti* texts have laid down the standard of calculation of *paṇa* denoting a copper coin calculated in terms of cowrie-shells. Thus 80 cowries were regarded as equal to one copper *paṇa* and 4 *paṇas* were equal to 320 cowries. This standard of calculation was also applied for weighing valuable metals like silver and gold. Instead of cowries, which were calculated by tale and not weighed, the weight of 80 *raktikās* or *rattis* (red and black *guñjā* seeds) was taken to be equal to one *paṇa*, also called *kārṣāpaṇa* of copper or silver. The weight of 4 *paṇas* of silver or copper was regarded as equal to 320 *rattis* called one *pala*.³¹³ *Paṇa* was one of the units of this weight system and also it formed one of the units in the calculation of cowries by tale, which formed the non-metallic currency of Orissa since earlier times. The expression *hiranya-paṇa* in the aforesaid Hindol plate might have denoted the cowries. The records of the Bhauma-Karas would make us believe that payment of salaries in lieu of service to the officers of higher rank was made by land grants and those belonging to the lower ranks were paid by grains and cowries. This practice of payment of salaries is known to have been prevalent since ancient times, which was usually followed according to prescribed rules laid down in the ancient *Smṛti* texts and such texts like Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*.³¹⁴

The use of metallic money in silver was also prevalent in the kingdom of the Bhauma-Karas which was weighed according to the *pala* weight standard mentioned above. The Angul plate of Dharmamadādevī³¹⁵ informs us that a land measuring 10 *mālas* in the village called Deśala was given to a Brāhmaṇa, the annual rent for which was apparently fixed at 3 *palas* of silver. The amount was equal to 960 *rattis* of the metal according to the above weight standard. The statement seems to have been intended to denote that the said amount of land was purchased at the cost of 3 *palas* or 12

313. S. Tripathy, *Early and Medieval Coins and Currency System of Orissa*, 178ff.

314. Ibid, 181.

315. No. 22.

commodity. It may also indicate the continued supply of household consumable commodities by various professional merchants, guilds or by household consumers, paying the cost of the household commodities to persons who supplied these things.

Thus the epigraphic records of the Bhuama-Karas would give us the impression that they followed the system of mixed agricultural economy. We do not have reference to any specific coin or coined money introduced by the Bhuama-Karas though they enjoyed the status of sovereignty and introduced an era of their own.

The majority of the Bhuama records are religious in nature and due to the increase in the number of religious intermediaries in land, the system of hereditary posts, the payment by land grants to vassals and officials etc., feudalism gained considerable importance during the period of this dynastic rule in Orissa. Feudalism was bound to have an adverse effect on the general economy of the kingdom. The villages were supposed to pay to the officers, over and above the customary dues to the state. This clearly indicates the feudal practice of the period to remunerate the royal officers of the kingdom in terms to land grants and assignments of revenue. The feudatory rulers seemed to have been on the lookout for new methods of realising money from their subjects and exploited every opportunity to do so.

The revenue system shows that land tax was the principal source of state revenue which consisted of the king's customary share of one-sixth of the produces of the field. Agriculture was the most important factor in the field of economy during this period. For the purpose of the collection of land revenue, there presumably, existed a systematic survey of land to which we find several references, such as the specification of boundaries of the granted villages

Religion

The epigraphic records of the Bhuama-Karas provide us with interesting pieces of information about their religious leanings. They reveal that the rulers were votaries of different religious sects, viz., Buddhism, Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. It was mainly due to their religious tolerance and patronage extended to different religious sects that a significant change in the field of religion had ushered in during the period of their rule.

The rise of the Bhuama-Karas during the 8th century A.D. was notable in the history of Mahāyāna Buddhism in Orissa. Their rule also witnessed the evolution of Buddhism from Mahāyāna to Vajrayāna in this part of our

country. Several archaeological remains in and around the township of Jajpur, generally attributed to the period of their rule, provide us with data relating to the prevalence of Vajrayāna faith. The accounts of the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang provide us with information of Buddhist establishments in Orissa inhabited by the monks of Mahāyāna order.³²⁹ Moreover, it is generally believed that Śivakara II Unmattasimha sent an autographed Buddhist manuscript called Gaṇḍavyuha, “who had a deep faith in the sovereign law and who followed the practice of the Mahāyāna faith”, to the Chinese emperor. It was carried by a Buddhist monk named Prajñā, who was instructed to translate the text of the said work into Chinese, sometime during A.D. 795³³⁰.

Majority of the Bhauma epigraphic records dealing with grants are religious in nature. Some of them reveal the Buddhist religious activities during the Bhauma rule. The records of the early Bhauma rulers, in fact, reveal that they were followers of Buddhist faith and assumed Buddhist religious titles. The Avalokiteśvara image inscription³³¹ of the time of Śubhākara I refers to one Rāhularuci, who has been endowed with the epithets of *mahā-maṇḍalācārya* and *paramaguru*, the ‘teacher of the great division’ and the ‘supreme preceptor’. He was evidently a state pontiff during the reign of Śubhākara I. The inscription would also indicate that the Buddhist religious preceptors were revered and placed in high position. Further, it shows that the early Bhauma kings extended royal patronage to the spread of Mahāyāna Buddhism. This is corroborated by the discovery of numerous Mahāyānic sculptures from several Buddhist sites included in the Bhauma dominions, such as, Jajpur, Lalitgiri, Udayagiri and Ratnagiri in the Cuttack district, attributed to about 8th and 9th centuries of the Christian era. Many of these sculptures are inscribed in the scripts prevalent during the Bhauma supremacy in Orissa dealing with the well-known Mahāyānic creed, *ye dharmā hetu-prabhavā...* etc.³³² Study of these sculptural representations of various deities of the Mahāyānic pantheon as well as the epigraphic records attributed to the Bhauma-Karas reveal that the Mahāyānic doctrine gradually transformed itself into Vajrayāna, during about this period and occupied a predominant

329. T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travel in India*, 193.

330. *EI*, XV, 363-364.

331. No. 2.

332. For the Buddhist monuments and sculptures in Orissa generally attributed to the Bhauma period, see, U.K. Subuddhi, *The Bhauma-Karas of Orissa*, 118ff; B. Das, *The Bhauma-Karas and their Times*, 141ff.

position in the religious life of Orissa, due mainly to the royal patronage it received. The influence of the Tantric form of worship in Mahāyānic Buddhism ushered in a new stage in the development of the history of Buddhism in Orissa which seems to have attained its pinnacle of glory during the Bhauma rule.

The Neulpur grant of Śubhākara II³³³ refers to his predecessors as followers of Buddhist faith. The first king named Kṣemaṅkara mentioned in this record, whom we have identified with Śubhākara I, has the Buddhist title of *paramopāsaka*. But it is interesting to note that, he has been credited with the epithet as an upholder of *varṇāśrama-dharma* or the caste system of the Brahmanical faith. His son Śivakara II has been endowed with the Buddhist religious title of *paramatathāgata* whose son, Śubhākara II, the issuer of this grant, is stated to have borne the title of *paramasaugata*. The interesting point is that the said grant is stated to have been made in favour of 204 Brāhmaṇas in order to establish a Brahmin settlement by creating a locality with two contiguous villages and renaming it as Solanapura. The Brāhmaṇa donees are said to have been students of different Vedas and of different *gotras*. It may be pointed out in this context that the said charter contains the royal seal bearing the Śaivite emblem of a couchant bull with the symbols for the sun and the moon. This dynastic emblem of Śaivite significance is known to have been continued till the downfall of the dynasty, though the ruling members appear to have followed different religious faiths. Thus it may not be safe to conclude on the religious leanings of the Bhauma-Karas from their family emblem of religious nature. The Terundia plate³³⁴ of Śubhākara III also corroborates the fact that his grandfather (Śubhākara II) was a devotee of lord Buddha and bore the title of *paramopāsaka*. His father Śivakara III, according to this grant, had the title of *Sugatāśraya* and Śubhākara III was called *paramasaugata*. Again, this charter was also issued in favour of Brāhmaṇas of Bharadvāja *gotra* who constructed some *maṭhas* and *maṇḍapas* in the village of Tamaṇḍapa. The grant was, however, made at the request of one of his queens named Nṛṇṇā who was presumably a devotee of the Brahmanic deities. That Śubhākara II was a Buddhist is again supported by the grants³³⁵ issued by Śubhākara IV, another grandson of this king and the son of Śāntikara I Gayāḍa of the younger branch of the

333. No. 4.

334. No. 7.

335. Nos. 8 and 9

family. He has been called *paramasaugata* in these grants. But his younger brother Śāntikara I has not been endowed with any religious title. The two grants³³⁶ of Pṛthvīmahādevī credit Śubhākara II with the erection of a number of *vihāras* and other religious establishments. The grants³³⁷ of Tribhuvanamahādevī I refers to her predecessors as to have “exhausted the treasures of their vast empire on religious works, decorating the earth with *mathas*, *vihāras* and sanctuaries”. The locality called Solanapura, which was created during the time of Śubhākara II as a Brahmin settlement, later became an eminent centre of Buddhism and a *mahāvihāra* was established there. This is evident from the record of the last known Somavamśin ruler Karṇakeśarin.³³⁸ The Bhauma rulers from the beginning of their rule, thus, professed a sort of mixed faith in which Buddhism and Brahmanical faith were strangely amalgamated. It was due to their strong patronization that the Buddhist as well as the Brahmanical institutions grew side by side during their supremacy. A reciprocal influence of different religious cults upon one another and, at the same time, synthesis of different cults and sects can be noticed during the period under discussion.

Śubhākara V,³³⁹ son of Śāntikara II and Hīrāmahādevī, is the first known male member of the Bhauma family to assume the Saivite title of *paramamāheśvara*. His brother Śivakara IV³⁴⁰ also assumed the same Śaivite title, though Buddhism also received patronage from this king as revealed by his two copper-plate grants issued in favour of a Buddhist monastery called Jayāśrama *vihāra* situated in the dominions of his feudatory Vinītatūṅga, apparently of the Tūṅga family. It is to be noted that the temple dedicated to lord Buddha in the said monastery is stated to have been constructed presumably by a Brāhmaṇa named Amubhaṭṭa. One share of the revenue collection of the two granted villages was reserved to meet the daily worship of the deity, evidently an image of lord Buddha enshrined in the said temple, with flower, incense, lamp, sandal paste, *bali* and *caru* (oblation). Another share of the revenue was meant for providing food and shelter to 10 *bhikṣus*. The rituals in the worship of the Buddha image mentioned in these two charters of Śivakara IV are same as those mentioned in the worship of the Brahmanic deities Vaidyanātha-bhaṭṭāraka (Śiva) and

336. Nos. 13 and 14.

337. No. 15.

338. *EI*, XXXIII, 263ff.

339. No. 10.

340. Nos. 11 and 12.

Umā-Maheśvara, in the charters of Śubhākara IV³⁴¹ and Pṛthvīmahādevī³⁴² respectively. The prevalent practice of worshipping the image of the Buddha among the Mahāyānic Buddhists had already obtained a stronghold in Orissa during the Bhauma rule. The evolution of Buddhism from Mahāyāna to Vajrayāna in Orissa can be well evidenced from the above two charters of Śivakara IV. It may be pointed out in this context that the Tuṅga rulers of Yamagarttamaṇḍala, who acknowledged the Bhauma supremacy, were also originally followers of Buddhism. The fact is corroborated by the dynastic emblem they adopted of a deer and a caitya having Buddhist religious significance.³⁴³ Further, the rulers of this family very often assumed the Buddhist titles of *paramasaugata*³⁴⁴ and *paramatathāgata*. This would also suggest the fact, although indirectly, that the Tuṅgas, from the early part of the Bhauma supremacy, came under the influence of their religious leanings.

There were several other minor dynasties in the Dhenkanal region, owing allegiance to the Bhauma-Karas, especially the Śulkis of Kodālakamaṇḍala and the Nandodbhavas of Airāvattamaṇḍala who were also greatly influenced by the religious leanings of their Bhauma overlords. The Śulkis are also known to have adopted, like the Tuṅgas, the royal emblem of couchant deer.³⁴⁵ The Nandodbhavas, too, often assumed Buddhist title of *paramasaugata*.³⁴⁶

The Śaivite activities of many of the Bhauma rulers, as revealed by their epigraphic records, would also tend to indicate that, though originally Mahāyānic Buddhists, they were gradually coming into the fold of Śaivite faith. This widely accepted religious cult attained a predominant position since earlier times in Orissa, at least from the time of Śaśāṅka's supremacy.

341. No. 8.

342. Nos. 13 and 14.

343. A recently discovered copper-plate grant of one Khaḍgatuṅga, stated to be the son of Vinītatūṅga of the Tuṅga family, is now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar. The royal seal attached to the charter contains the symbol of a Buddhist *caitya* and below it a couchant deer. The issuer of the grant is stated to have borne the Buddhist title of *paramasaugata*. The Talcher and the Dhenkanal grants of Vinītatūṅga bear the seal having the dynastic emblem of a couchant deer with the symbols for the sun and the moon, (*EI*, XXXVII, 128-131 with plates; *JBORS*, VI, 236-240).

344. *JESI*, VII, 120-127.

345. *EI*, XII, 156-157.

346. *JBORS*, XV, 87-100; XVI, 457ff; XVII, 196ff.

It had tremendous influence on the Mahāyānic Buddhism and the Bhauma rulers were bound to be eclectic from the point of view of their religious policy in harmony with the sentiment of the age.

There are references to several Śaivite temples in the records of the family, apparently indicating their construction during the Bhauma supremacy. These monuments as well as the deities installed in them have been referred to in connection with the donations made by the Bhauma rulers. Thus the temple of Mādhavēśvara, evidently a Śiva temple constructed by Mādhavadevī, the queen of Śubhākara I, in the vicinity of ancient Virajā and named after her is known from an inscription³⁴⁷ from Jajpur, of the time of Śubhākara I, though this king is known to have been a devotee of lord Buddha from the records of his successors. During the rule of Śubhākara IV³⁴⁸ a Śaivite temple complex was constructed by a feudatory king named Pulindarāja of the Dhenkanal-Hindol region which was named after him as *Pulindeśvarāyatana*. In this temple, of the deity named Vaidyanātha-bhaṭṭāraka, evidently a Śiva-liṅgam, was installed in a newly constructed temple at the request of Pulindarāja and donations were made in favour of the deity by Śubhākara IV. Provisions were made for maintenance of the Śaivite teachers and mendicants. The copper-plate charters of Pṛthvīmahādevī refer to the Śaivite temple complex called *Nānneśvarāyatana* which was built by one Śir-Nanna of Virāṭa *vamśa*, a feudatory king, presumably of the region around Daṇḍabhuktimanḍala under the Bhauma-Karas. The records state that at the request of Śaśilekhā, the daughter of Śrī-Nanna, who was married to a feudatory king named Maṅgalakalaśa designated as *mahā-maṇḍalādhipati* of the Vrāgaḍi family, Pṛthvīmahādevī granted two villages for the installation of the deities Umā-Maheśvara in the temple complex called Nānneśvarāyatana in Daṇḍabhuktimanḍala during the Bhauma year 158. Maṅgalakalaśa appears to have been a feudatory king of Daṇḍabhuktimanḍala under the Bhauma-Karas. The said temple complex was built by Nanna and named after him. Provisions were made for the daily worship of the deities, for the maintenance of the temple and for providing food and shelter and other facilities to the Śaivite monks residing in the *maṭha* attached to the temple. It may be pointed out in the context of religious leanings of the Bhauma ruling members that their records do not refer to any Vaiṣṇavite institution. Nor the rulers are said to have donated in favour of any Vaiṣṇavite deity, Tribhuvanamahādevī I and Pṛthvīmahādevī, however, are styled with

347. No. 1.

348. No. 8.

Vaiṣṇavite title of *paramavaṣṇavī* as well as *Gosvāminī* indicating devotees of Viṣṇu. But they are not known from any source to have associated themselves with any Vaiṣṇavite activity. Tribhuvanamahādevī I has been compared with the Śākta deity Kātyāyanī in the eulogy recorded in her own charter, though she has been styled as *Gosvāminī* and *paramavaṣṇavī*. Tribhuvanamahādevī II, though styled as *paramavaṣṇavī*, associated herself with Śaivite institutions by donating villages in favour of Śaivite deities. On the other hand, all other reigning queens and the princess of the family are known from their respective copper-plate charters to have been styled as *paramamāheśvarī* or devotees of lord Śiva.

An inscribed Cāmuṇḍā image has tentatively assigned to the period of the Bhauma rule. Vatsadevī of this inscription is generally taken to be a queen or a member of the Bhauma royal family. But she is not yet known from any other source. The image of Cāmuṇḍā is recorded in this inscription to have been installed by this lady.

Archaeological remains at several places of Orissa including Jajpur and its vicinity, particularly the sculptural representations of several Mahāyānic deities, attributable to the 9th and 10th centuries of the Christian era tend to suggest that Mahāyānic Buddhism was then in the state of transformation into Vajrayāna. This, together with the Śaivite and Śakti cults of the Brahmanic pantheon, developed into Tantric cults and images of the deities like Cāmuṇḍā, Heruka, Māricī and Kurukullā were introduced for worship. It developed a mystic philosophy introducing female divinities into its pantheon. Chaurasi in Puri district, the findspot of the copper-plate of Śivakara II Unmatṭakeśarin, is known to have yielded several sculptural representations of Vajrayāna deities which have been attributed to the Bhauma epoch.³⁴⁹ Besides, the Buddhist archaeological remains at Ratnagiri, Lalitgiri and Udayagiri in the Cuttack district and other Buddhist sites in Orissa, are generally attributed basing on the palaeography of the extant inscribed materials from these places, to the Bhauma epoch.

Society

From a study of the extant epigraphic records of the Bhauma-Karas it is observed that the grants of land made in favour of the Brāhmaṇas by

349. For the Buddhist sculptural remains of the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna sects in Orissa, generally assigned to the Bhauma epoch, see B. Das, *The Bhauma-Karas and their Times*, 141-151.

the ruling members were made specific by certain expressions. The Brāhmaṇa donees have been invariably mentioned as prefixed with *bhaṭṭa* or *svāmin* to their names along with details about their *gotras* and *pravaras*. This is also indicative of the high position enjoyed by the Brāhmaṇas in the society who were venerated and revered by all the castes and creeds. The Bhauma inscriptions also indicate that the division of the society into four principal castes was prevalent during their times and the ruling authorities were keen to maintain the caste system (*varṇāśrama-vyavasthā*) as laid down in the ancient scriptures, notwithstanding the fact that some of the early Bhauma kings had leanings towards Buddhist faith.

The names of persons belonging to lower castes in the society are mentioned in the records, prefixed with various official and professional designations, such as *tatṭhakāra* Harivardhana,³⁵⁰ *pratihāra* Dhavala,³⁵¹ *kulaputraka* Sūryapāla³⁵² etc.

An interesting point is to be noted regarding the person designated as *dānapati* who is mentioned in several records of the family as the receiver of the grants on behalf of the religious establishments. He was supposed to look after the gift and the maintenance of the religious establishment for which the grant was issued by the ruling authority. Reference to *dānapati* is found in the grants which were made in favour of religious institutions either of the Buddhist or the Brahmanic faith. The caste of the *dānapati* or his social status, is, however, not known from any of these records, though it can be presumed that he enjoyed somewhat higher status in the society as he was associated with the religious establishment. The caste of the *dānapati* who received the grant on behalf of the Buddhist monastery at Jayāśrama *vihāra*, mentioned in the Talcher grants³⁵³ of Śivakara IV, is not known. He was granted one share, out of four of the revenue income from the gift village in order to meet expenditure incurred towards his salary and other allowances for his maintenance together with his children. Presumably, he was meant to enjoy the grant hereditarily. Similar reference to *dānapati* is found in the Hindol plate³⁵⁴ of Śubhākara IV which was issued in favour of a Śiva temple. The *dānapati* of this grant was favoured with salary and allowance respectively of cash and kind, from the revenue income of the gift

350. No. 3.

351. No. 17.

352. No. 10.

353. Nos. 11 and 12.

354. No. 8.

village. He was apparently in charge of all activities including the daily worship of the deity Vaidyanāthabhaṭṭāraka. But the name of the *dānapati* cannot be ascertained from the inscription nor caste to which he belonged. It is sometimes noticed that the servitors of the Śiva temple in different parts of Orissa are not always Brāhmaṇas by caste, but belong to the community of florists (*mālīs*).³⁵⁵

The designation of a physician was *vaidya* or *bhiṣak*. But the physicians were not always Brahmins by caste as can be gleaned from the inscriptions of the time of Śāntikara I's reign.³⁵⁶ Bhīmaṭa the physician mentioned in these inscriptions seems to have belonged to a caste other than the Brāhmaṇa. This is indicated by the reference to another person along with Bhīmaṭa named Loyomaka whose name has been prefixed with the Brāhmaṇa title of *bhaṭṭa*, whereas Bhīmaṭa has been prefixed with physician's title of *vaidya*. *Vaidya* Bhīmaṭa in association with *bhaṭṭa* Loyomaka is stated in the inscription to have established a *maṭha* named *Arghyakā-varāṇi* on the Dhauli hill near Bhubaneswar.

Though the actual number of castes and sub-castes in Orissa during the Bhauma rule is not exactly known, the Neulpur plate³⁵⁷ of Śubhākara II would induce us to believe that the main castes in the society were regarded to be four, viz., (1) the Brāhmaṇas, or the priestly class who were the spiritual guide of the people and who enjoyed the highest position in the society; (2) the kṣatriyas or the ruling class; (3) the vaiśyas or the trading community and (4) the *śūdras* or the class that served others. The *śūdra* caste appeared to have included various sub-castes according to the professions they held. In all the Bhauma copper-plate records we come across such professional sub-castes of the *śūdra* community as *tantuvāya* or the weaver, *gokuṭa*, the herdsman, *śaunḍika*, the distiller etc. These artisans are still regarded as *śūdras* by caste, belonging to the lower stratum in the Hindu society. They are still regarded as untouchables by the Hindu upper classes.

355. In western part of Orissa, the person performing the daily worship in some of the Śiva temples is usually called *thānapati* or *chānapati* belonging to a caste other than Brahmin. In the Dhenkanal region, the *mālīs* or persons from florist class are very often found engaged in the daily worship in the Śiva temples. In the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar, there are persons associated with the worship of the deity, who are called *maliās* belonging to the florist communities, but now they claim to be Brahmins.

356. Nos. 5 and 6.

357. No. 4.

The expression *prakṛtika* mentioned in the majority of the Bhauma copper plate records while referring to the aforesaid artisans, is interesting to note. It has been generally interpreted as subject of a king.³⁵⁸ But the records would tend to suggest that the artisans holding such professions as weaver, herdsman or distiller were regarded as belonging to the lowest class of the society and were also untouchables. Thus they were not merely subjects of the king residing in a village but also the 'untouchable subjects' for which the expression *prakṛtika* has been applied to them. The presence of numerous sub-castes in the lower stratum of the society perhaps required the Bhauma kings to uphold the interests of different classes (*varṇas*) and eradicate social evils and preserve the social order. The Terundia plate³⁵⁹ of Śubhākara III credits its donor with the establishment of the order of the various castes in the society in strict accordance with the ancient scriptures. It would indicate the interesting fact that in spite of the Buddhistic faith adopted by the early Bhauma kings, they were eager to maintain the caste system in the Hindu society. The epigraphic records of the Bhauma-Karas, especially those of the early rulers of the family, would tend to suggest that the ruling authorities made different castes and sub-castes in the society confined to their respective spheres of duty. The Dhēnkanal grant³⁶⁰ was granted to a Brāhmaṇa named Jagaddhara in order to bring down rain to the earth, presumably by means of performing certain sacrifices (*yajña*) in which the Brāhmaṇa seemed to have been proficient. Probably, there was drought during the reign of Tribhuvanamahādevī I in her kingdom.

The epigraphic records of the Bhauma queens and the princess testify to the fact that they took active part in the political affairs of their time. They held the reins of power and maintained the sovereignty of the kingdom as well as of the dynasty for a considerably long period when the kingdom was in a state of turmoil and devoid of male rulers. They asserted power and managed the politics of the kingdom with courage. Tribhuvanamahādevī I could save the kingdom from disaster even though she was quite advance in age during the Bhauma year 160. Tribhuvanamahādevī II also played diplomatic role in the political affairs of the kingdom and was quite successful in capturing the throne, though for a very short period. Tribhuvanamahādevī I acted as the queen-regent after her son's death during the minority of her

358. D.C. Sircār, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 255.

359. No. 7.

360. No. 15.

grandson, but ruled as a full fledged sovereign. Although there is no record of Hīrāmahādevī available yet, the fact that she ruled the kingdom for some time, can be gleaned from the copper-plate records of her two sons Śubhākara V and Sivakara IV in which she has been endowed with the sovereign titles of *paramabhaṭṭarikā*, *mahārājādhirāja* and *parameśvarī* which are generally noticed to have been borne by the reigning queens of the family. These royal titles have not been used by Mādhavadevī, queen of Śubhākara I, Jayāvalidevī, queen of Śivakara I, nor by Mohinīdevī, the queen of Śivakara III, who were evidently not the ruling members of the family. But they were associated with philanthropic and other cultural activities during their times. Thus Mādhavadevī was responsible for the construction of the Śiva temple at Jajpur which was named after her as Mādhavēśvara and received royal assent for making endowments for the worship of the deity, for establishing a market and for excavating a tank for public near the temple. Śubhākara III made a gift of a village³⁶¹ at the request of his queen for the maintenance of the temples and monasteries and other public buildings in the village of Taramaṇḍapa. An inscribed image of Cāmuṇḍa³⁶² was probably installed for worship by a later Bhauma queen named Vatsadevī in the premises of a temple in or around Jajpur.

The history of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty provides at least one example of a princess ruling independently in her own right. It was Daṇḍimahādevī, daughter of Śubhākara VI and Gaurīmahādevī, who saved the dynasty from ultimate disaster in the absence of any male ruler. Of all the rulers of the family, she enjoyed a longer period of reign, especially when compared to that of her immediate predecessors. It is also significant to note that of all the ruling member of the family, it was Daṇḍimahādevī who issued the maximum number of copper-plate charters. With the aid of the feudatories she could consolidate her rule suppressing the rebellious elements and disintegrating forces in the kingdom which might have experienced a lamentable state of anarchy due to the absence of any powerful male member. She was capable enough to maintain the integrity of her kingdom for a considerably long period as can be gleaned from several of her copper-plate charters granted in both the divisions of Uttara Tosali and Dakṣiṇa Tosali. The period of her rule must have been a significant epoch at least in the history of Orissa.

361. No. 7.

362. No. 24.

Thus the epigraphic records of the Bhauma-Karas, though very small in number and incapable of giving us a complete picture about the history of the period, have obviously provided with pieces of information on the various aspects of the history of the dynasty as well as of the period it ruled. A minute study of these records has no doubt enabled us to bring out certain new facts so far unobserved and facilitated us to reconstruct, in a systematic way, the history of the dynasty.

PART II
INSCRIPTIONS

No. 1

Haṁseśvara Temple Inscription of the Time of the Bhauma-Kara Dynasty.

<i>Provenance</i>	: Jaipur, Cuttack District.
<i>Reference</i>	: D.C. Sircar, <i>EI</i> , XXVIII, 180-183 and plate.
<i>Language</i>	: Sanskrit, in verse.
<i>Metres</i>	: Verse 1 <i>Āryā</i> ; vv. 2-5 <i>Śārdūlavikriḍita</i> ; v. 6 <i>Indravajrā</i> or <i>Upajāti</i> ; v. 7 <i>Mālinī</i> .
<i>Script</i>	: Eastern variety of North Indian alphabet of about 8th century A.D.
<i>Date</i>	: Not dated.

Text¹

1. सिद्धम्² [॥*] उदयगिरिचारुचूडा[चिन्ता?]³मणिरवतु × × × ×⁴ [१*]
..... [॥*१]
2. आसीद्भौमकुलाद्भूतेन्दुरहितध्वान्तातिविध्वंस(ध्वंस)नः --- उ उ - उ - उ
उ उ --- उ --- उ - [१*] --- उ उ - [शु*]-
3. भाकर इति ज्योत्स्नायमानं यशो यस्यास्मिन्निपुका[मि][नी*] उ उ उ --- उ -
- उ - [॥*२] --- उ उ - उ - उ उ उ -
4. राज्ञी जगत्स्वामिनी श्रीमन्माधवदेव्यभूदभिमता --- उ --- उ - [१*] --- उ उ -
उ - उ उ उ --- उ --- उ
5. गै [ः*] ख्यातोयम्भुवि माधवेश्वर इति श्रीमान्भवस्यालय[ः॥*३] --- उ उ उ -
उ उ उ --- उ --- उ -
6. खाचार्य इति व्यतिष्ठत चिरम्प्रज्ञावतामग्रणीः॥ (१) ईशे[ने] उ उ - उ - उ उ उ -
--- उ --- उ --- उ उ - उ - उ उ

-
1. From the facsimile in *EI*, XXVIII, facing page 183.
 2. Expressed by a symbol.
 3. D.C. Sircar suggests [विष्टा]मलि-
 4. The right half of the inscribed slab is broken and lost, thus affecting all the extant lines of the inscription and consequently all the verses are fragmentary.

7. तुल[ङ्कै]लासवद्भूषितम्। [१*४] येनैतत्सुकरावसेचनसु --- उ --- उ ---
 उ उ --- उ --- उ उ --- उ
8. मत्पद्भूतम्। [एषा चा]नुपमातिनिर्मलजला वापी उ --- उ --- उ --- उ उ --- उ ---
 उ उ उ --- उ --- उ --- [११*५]
9. श्रीमन्महाभागिवणिकप्रकीर्णस्तुर्णन्त्वने[कं] किरणोज्वले - [१*] उ --- उ ---
 उ उ --- उ --- उ --- उ उ --- उ
10. हट्टः॥ [६*] अमरपुरनिवासन्तेन देव्याङ्गतायामिह हि कु --- उ --- उ ---
 - [१*] उ उ उ उ उ उ --- उ ---
11. प्रतीतिं सुविपुलजनसार्थास्तोष[य*]न्तीव यस्य॥ [७*] तेनैत[त्*]⁵

Abstract of Contents

The inscription begins with a symbol for *siddham* which is followed by a verse whose extant portion seems to be in adoration of some deity, apparently god Śiva. Verse 2 seems to record that there was a powerful ruler in the Bhauma family whose name was Śubhākara. The following verse (v.3) speaks apparently of his queen named *Mādhavadevī* who seems to have been connected with the building of the temple for god Bhava (i.e., Śiva) and named as *Mādhaveśvara*. Verse 4 records apparently the appointment of the pontif (*acārya*) for conducting the worship of the deity installed in the said temple. In this verse, the temple seems to have been compared with Śiva's residence on Mount Kailāśa. Verse 5 seems to record the excavaton of a *vāpi* (stepped well) near the temple. Verse 6 seems to describe a market place (*haṭṭa*), apparently established in the vicinity of the said temple. Verse 7 refers to a person, who seems to have been connected with the activities in the temple after the death of the queen. The extant two words of the following verse apparently speak of this person and his activities.

5. The rest of the inscription is lost.

No. 2

Khadipadā Image Inscription of the Time of Śubhākara

- Provenance* : Khadipada, Balasore District.
Reference : 1. A. Ghosh, *EI*, XXVI, 247-49ff and plate.
 2. S.C. De, *PIHC*, XII (1949), 66-73.
Language : Sanskrit, in prose.
Script : Eastern variety of North Indian alphabet of about 8th century A.D.
Date : Not dated.

Text¹

Left Side

1. सिद्धम्² [॥*] श्रीशुभाकरदेवराज्ये महामण्डलाचार्य परमगुरुराहुलरुचिनां(ना)³

Right Side

2. तस्य दे[य*]धर्मोयं। उत्कीर्णं कुढा (?)⁴सूत्रधारेणः⁵॥

Abstract of Contents

The inscription begins with a symbol for *siddham* and continues to record that Rāhularuci, designated as *Mahāmaṇḍalācārya*, 'the teacher of the great division' and *Paramaguru*, 'the supreme preceptor', made the

-
1. From the original and facsimile in *EI*, XXVI, facing page 248. This inscribed Buddhist image of Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara is now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar.
 2. Expressed by a symbol.
 3. The reading may also be नामा as suggested by A. Ghosh.
 4. The reading appears to be बुढा, meaning the 'old one' in Oriya language.
 5. The *visarga* sign is superfluous.

pious gift (of the image of *Padmapāṇi* Avalokiteśvara), during the reign of Śrī-Śubhākaradeva. This record was engraved by the *Sūtradhāra*, 'the mason' named Kuḍhā (or Buḍhā).

No. 3

Chaurasi Grant of Śivakara, Year 12

- Provenance* : Chaurasi, Puri District.
Reference : 1. N. Tripathi, *JBORS*, XIV, Part ii, 292-306 and plate.
 2. B. Misra, *OUBK*, 8-9.
Language : Sanskrit, in prose excepting the two benedictory verses.
Metres : Verses 1-2 *Anuṣṭubh*.
Script : Eastern variety of North Indian alphabet of about 9th-10th centuries A.D.
Date : Year 12, the 12th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Kārttika.

Text¹

Obverse

1. सिद्धम्²। सिद्धिः [।*] स्वस्त्यनस्तमितसमस्तसाम[न्त]³महामहिन्म(म्न)-
समङ्गजरा —
2. जगर्जितसंगीतक⁴मुरजध्वनिः। गुहदेव⁵पाटिकावासिनः।⁶ विजय —
3. विजयस्कन्धाभा(वा)रात्। भौमस्य महति ख्यातिः। गु[ण]⁷मालाकुले(?)
कुले।⁸

-
1. From the original; the plate is now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar. The plate is in two parts, both being dove-tailed at one end with four projections and four depressions, so that both parts can be joined together in the middle, supported by each other. At least one letter from each line and from each side of the plate at the middle has been damaged by these projections. See Plates I and II.
 2. Expressed by a symbol.
 3. This letter has been damaged by the projection.
 4. Tripathi reads संगीतकं मुरज —
 5. Tripathi reads गुहदेवि and suggests शुभदेवि
 6. The punctuation is superfluous.
 7. The letters are not legible due to the projection.
 8. The punctuation is superfluous.

4. आभूदभूत्⁹ पूर्वोस्मिन्¹⁰ श्रीशिवकरः करः। तस्य पुत्रस्य तत्पा-
5. दानुध्यात् (तः)¹¹ श्रीमा[न्*]निधिपतिः¹² कुलसम्ब(म्ब)[न्ध ?] - वाया महादेव्याः
श्रीज -
6. यावलिदेव्या[*] समुत्पन्नः¹² परमभ[ट्टारक]ः¹³ महाराजाधिराज[*] पर -
7. मेस्व(श्व)रः¹⁴ श्रीशुभाकरदेवः। × × × ×¹⁵ क्षिणे रा वं धारदधः। क्वा -
8. धरेन्द्रमहेन्द्र भूसिम्ना निम्न × × विमलजलाज(जा)हवीचिह्न-
9. महा। रम्याय पापहन्ता पृथुषदिशे महानुत्कलेन्द्रस्य य च (?)¹⁶
10. । तस्य पुत्रस्य तत्पादानुध्यात[*]। श्रीमदान्निधि¹⁷पतिः¹⁸ कुलसम्ब(म्ब)-न्धवाया
11. महादेव्या श्रीमाधवदेव्या[*] समुत्पन्नः। परमभट्टारको महाराजाधि -
12. राजपरमेश्वरः श्रीशिवकरदेव[ः] कुशली[*] दक्षिणतोषल्यां वर्त-
13. मानभविष्यत्(न्)¹⁹ महासामन्तमहा[रा]जराजपुत्रान्तण(र)ङ्गकुमारा -
14. मात्यो(त्यौ)परिकर²⁰ विषयपतितदायुक्तक[दाण्ड]पाशी (शि)कस्थानान्तरित(का)-
[नन्या*]नपि रा -
15. जपादोपजीविनश्चाटभा(भ)टवल्लभव(भ)जातीयान्य(न्) अन्तरुद्रविषय(ये) म-

Reverse

16. हामहत्तरवृ(बृ)हद्भोगिपुस्त[क*]पालकोट्टपाल²¹साद्ध्या(द्य)धिकरणं यथाह²²
17. स्मरति वो(बो)धयति स[मा*]ज्ञापयती(ति) च²³ ²⁴ विदितमस्तु भवता[म*]।
एतद्विषय

-
9. The punctuation is superfluous.
 10. The punctuation is superfluous.
 11. The punctuation is superfluous.
 12. The punctuation is superfluous.
 13. The punctuation is superfluous.
 14. The punctuation is superfluous.
 15. The letters in this line are illegible partly due to corrosion and partly due to the inadvertance of the engraver.
 16. From line 7 to 9, the writings have been very inadvertantly copied by the engraver for which the text in these lines have become totally unintelligible.
 17. Tripathi reads श्रीमहान्निधि -
 18. The punctuation is superfluous.
 19. The punctuation is superfluous.
 20. The letter र and the punctuation mark are redundant.
 21. Other records of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty read कूटकोल
 22. Read यथाह
 23. Tripathi reads समाज्ञापयति स
 24. The punctuation is superfluous.

18. सम्बन्ध²⁵ वुव्रडाग्राम²⁶[*] सोपरिकरः सोदे(दे)शः सतन्त्र(न्तु)वाये(य)²⁷ गोकुट —
19. शौण्डिकादि प्रकृत(ति)कः स्थानादिगुल्मकः²⁸ सर्व्वपीडाविवर्जितोलेख —
20. म(नी)प्रवेशतः। या³⁰ भूमिश्छिद्रमपिध[ने]न³¹ चन्द्राक्काक्षितिसमकाले(लं)
21. मातापित्रोरात्मन[*] सर्व्वसत्त्वानाञ्च पु[ण्या]पवृद्धेः³² कात्यायनस —
22. गोत्राय। वैश्वानरमित्राकाथखिल्ल(?)³³ प्रवरः³⁴ ऋग्वेदचरण(णाय) जा —
23. ल्लुभट्टाय एवं अस्माभिस्ताम्र(म्र)शास[नी]कृत्या[क्ष]यन्नी(नी)ति(वि)धर्म(र्मे)-
ण(णा) —
24. करत्वेनव्याहसाशयदातर्द्धर्मगौरवाद्भवद्भिः³⁵ परिपाल—
25. नीयात्³⁶ [*] सम्बत् ९२ कार्तिक सु(शु)दि द्वादशी³⁷ [*] उक्तञ्च धर्म-
शास्त्रेण³⁸ [*]
26. बहुभिर्व्वसुधान्धता³⁹ राजानै⁴⁰ सगरादि[भिः] [*] यस्य यस्य यदा⁴¹

25. Read सम्बद्धः

26. The name of the village may also be read as वुवुडा

27. The punctuation is superfluous.

28. Other plates of the dynasty have सखेटघट्टनदीतरस्थानादिगुल्मकः

29. A letter seems to have been written and erased subsequently, between पी and डा.

30. Read लेखनीप्रवेशतया; the punctuation is superfluous.

31. Read भूमिच्छिद्रापिधानन्यायेना —

32. Read पुण्याभिवृद्धये

33. According to the *Śabdakalpadrūma*, Kātyāyana gotra has three *pravaras*, viz., Atri, Bhṛgu and Vaśiṣṭha.

34. Read प्रवराय, the punctuation is redundant.

35. The letters have been very carelessly copied, it should be — करत्वेन प्रतिपादित-
स्तदेषाऽस्मद्दत्तिर्द्धर्मगौरवाद्भवद्भिः; the punctuation is redundant.

36. Read परिपालनीया.

37. N. Tripathi reads the *samvat* as 13. B. Misra takes it to be 70.3. But the first symbol is a slanting stroke representing 1 according to the decimal system and the second symbol is 2. The Bhauma-Karas are known from their records to have followed the old system of using numerical symbols. The numerous orthographical errors and the use of scripts of a late period would induce one to doubt about the genuineness of this record. But, it may be a later copy of a genuine record.

38. Read धर्मशास्त्रे

39. Read बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता; the punctuation is superfluous.

40. Read राजभिः

41. A letter seems to have been incised between य and दा but later on erased.

27. भूमी(मि)[:*] तस्य तस्य तदा फलं (लम्)। [।*१] स्वदत्ता['] परदत्ताम्वा यो हरेद्व⁴²—
28. सुन्धराः (राम्)। स विष्ठायां कृमी(मि)र्भुक्त्वा⁴³ [पितु]भि[:] सह पच्यते॥ [२*] श्री—
29. विरज⁴⁴ वास्तव्य तष्टकार⁴⁵ हरिवर्द्धनेन⁴⁶ लिखितमिति॥

Abstract of Contents

The charter begins with the symbol for *siddham*, then the word *siddhi* and the word *svasti*. This is followed by a passage in prose, intended to describe the victorious city named *Guhadeva-pāṭikā*, whence the charter is stated to have been issued. Lines 3-12 seem to describe the rulers of the family of Bhauma. Śrī-Śivakara, who is stated to have flourished in this family earlier, had the queen named *Mahādevī Śrī-Jayāvalidevī*. From her was born Śrī-Śubhākaradeva who had the royal titles of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*. He has been described with the epithet of *Mahān-Utkalendra*, 'the great lord of Utkala'. He had the queen named *Mahādevī Śrī-Mādhavadevī* from whom was born Śrī-Śivakara, the reigning king. He has been endowed with the royal titles of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara* and described as the one who was devoted to his father. Lines 12-25 record the royal order relating to the grant of land addressed to the present and future *Mahāsāmantas*, *Mahārājas*, *Rājaputras*, *Antaraṅgas*, *Kumārāmātyas*, *Uparikas*, *Viṣayapatis*, *Tadāyuktakas*, *Dāṇḍapāśikas*, *Sthānāntarikas* and other royal favourites, such as the *cāṭa*, *bhaṭa* and *vallabha* categories of Dakṣiṇa Tosali. The royal order is also stated to have been addressed to the officers such as *Mahāmahattara*, *Brhadbhogin*, *Pustakapāla*, *Kuṭakola* and their assistants in the district (*viṣaya*) of Antarudra. The village named Vuvraḍā, situated in this *viṣaya* is said to have been granted along with *uparikara* or the additional or unfixed taxes, *uddeśa* or space above the ground and the artisans, such as the weavers, the herdsmen and the distillers, together with the outposts, and made free from all obstructions, in favour of Jāllubhaṭṭa,

42. Read तां वा यो हरेत व —

43. Read भूत्वा

44. N. Tripathi reads चिरज

45. The intended reading is तट्टकार, the 'brazier'.

46. The *anusvāra* is superfluous.

who belonged to Kātyāyana *gotra* and the three *pravaras*.⁴⁷ The grant is stated to have been made according to the established rule of *bhūmi-chidra-pidhāna-nyāya*⁴⁸ and granted by making it free from taxes by means of a copper-plate grant, according to the maxim of *akṣayanivi* for accruing religious merit of the parents of the donor, self and all other living beings. The date of the grant is recorded in line 25 as the *year 12, the twelfth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Kārttika*. Lines 26-28 record two of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. Line 29 records the name of the writer of the charter as Harivardhana, the brazier, who is stated to have been a resident of Śrī-Viraja.⁴⁹

47. See note 33.

48. The expression intends to mean the prevalent rule that the grant would never in future be the subject of entry into another document, reclaiming it as a fallow land. The expression finds mention in almost all the copper-plate records of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty so far known.

49. The present town of Jajpur in the Cuttack district is known from epigraphic and literary sources to be the ancient Śrī-Virajā (*kṣetra*).

No. 4

Neulpur Plate of Śubhākaradeva; Year 30

- Provenance* : Darpan, Cuttack District.
Reference : 1. R.D. Banerji, *EI*, XV, 1-8 and plate.
 2. B. Misra, *OUBK*, 1-7.
Language : Sanskrit, in prose excepting the benedictory and imprecatory verses.
Metres : Verses 1-4 *Anuṣṭubh*.
Script : Eastern variety of North Indian alphabet of about 8th-9th centuries A.D.
Date : Year 30, the 13th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Mārgaśīra.

Text¹

Obverse

1. सिद्धम्² स्वस्ति। जयस्कन्धावारात् गुहदेव³पाटकात्। अभु(भू)द्भु(ब्धू)पतिभौ(भौँ)-
मान्वयादन्वदवाप्तजन्मा⁴ शरदमलशशधरकरनिकरयशोराशिधवलितदिगा—
2. ननः प्रतापदहनदधारातीन्धनः स्वधर्म्मरोपितवर्णाश्रम[:] परमोपासकोनुगतार्थनामा⁵
श्रीक्षेमङ्करदेवः श्रीभरसहशब्द(ब्द)गीतमहिमा कार—
3. णानुरूप[:*] काय⁶जन्मतोपि तथाविध एव तदात्मजः परमतथागतो नरपतिः
श्रीशिवकरदेवनामा[*] ततोपि लब्ध(ब्ध)प्रसवः प्रशमितानुचिताधिपत्याभि—
4. लाषिदुर्वृत्तदायादजनाधीयमानजगदुपप्लवः गुण(ण)विनयनिधिः प्रजापालनतत्परः
परमसौगतो मातापितृपादानुध्याता(तः)
5. महाराजश्रीशुभाकरदेवः कुशली। उत्तरतोसल्यां⁷ वर्त्तमानभविष्यन्महासामन्त-

-
1. From the facsimile in *EI*, XV, facing pages 4 and 5.
 2. Expressed by a symbol.
 3. R.D. Banerji reads शुभदेव
 4. Read भौमान्वयादवाप्तजन्मा
 5. R.D. Banerji reads नृ(?)गताफ(?)नामा
 6. B. Misra reads कार
 7. The punctuation is superfluous.

- महाराजराजपुत्रान्त[रङ्ग]कुमार्योपरिकविषयपति—
6. तदायुक्तकदाण्डपाशिकस्थानान्तरिकानन्यानपि राजपादोपजीविनश्चाटभटवल्ल-
भजातीयाम्पा(न् पा)ज्वालबुभ्युदयविषयोः। महाम—
 7. हत्तरवृ(बृ)हद्भोगिपुस्तपालाद्यधिकरणं यथार्हम्मा(हं मा)नयति समाज्ञापयति वो(बो)-
धयति च विदितमस्तु भवतामेतद्विषयद्वयसम्ब(म्ब)द्ध[ः*] प—
 8. र्वतद्रोणीकोम्पराकग्रामदण्डाङ्कियोकग्रामौ⁸ सोपरिकरौ सोद्देशौ सर्व्वपीडावर्जिता-
वैकीकृत्य सलोणपुराधिवास इति नामधेयङ्क—
 9. त्वा मातापित्रोरात्मनः सर्व्वसत्वानाञ्चाचन्द्रार्कक्षितिसमकालम्पु(लं पु)ण्याभिवृद्धये
नानागोत्रचरण(णे)भ्यश्चातुर्विद्यवह्मणेभ्यो⁹ यथानुक्रमेण
 10. व(ब)ह्वचभट्टकेशवदेव।¹⁰ भट्टपुरुषोत्तम।¹⁰ वाङ्मन¹¹स्वामि।¹⁰ सम्पूर्णस्वामि।¹⁰
गोष्ठदेवस्वामि।¹⁰ भट्टरविकरदेव।¹⁰ भट्टचतुर्थदसायकरदेव।¹⁰ भट्टचतुर्थ—
 11. दोद्योतकरदेव।¹⁰ भट्टप्रभाकर।¹⁰ भट्टभास्कर।¹⁰ भट्टहरिदेव।¹⁰ भट्टवासुदेव।¹⁰
भट्टशतदमन।¹⁰ पुरुषोत्तमस्वामि।¹⁰ प्रद्योतस्वामि।¹⁰ महाव(ब)लस्वा—
 12. मि।¹⁰ नरसिंहस्वामि।¹⁰ त्रिविक्रमचन्द्रस्वामि।¹⁰ पशुपालस्वामि।¹⁰ पद्मनाभस्वामि।¹⁰
गोवर्द्धनस्वामि।¹⁰ श्रीधरस्वामि।¹⁰ मधुदोक्षित।¹⁰ रि(अ)षभस्वामि।¹⁰ अग्निहो—
 13. त्रिशच(च)न्द्रदेव।¹⁰ अग्निहोत्रिश्रीधर।¹⁰ भट्टपरितोष।¹⁰ भवदेवस्वामि।¹⁰
वासुदेवस्वामि।¹⁰ उत्पलस्वामि।¹⁰ भट्टजीवात्मन।¹⁰ भट्टवरदेव।¹⁰ भट्टकामदेव।¹⁰ के—
 14. शवस्वामि।¹² महादेवस्वामि।¹² गोष्ठभूतिस्वामि।¹² प्रभाकरस्वामि।¹²
गोवर्द्धनस्वामि।¹² शशिचन्द्रस्वामि।¹² भट्टश्रीधरभूति।¹² भट्टलोकभूति।¹² छात्रविष्णु-
स्वामि।¹²
 15. —¹³ मिदेवस्वामि।¹² साङ्गस्वामि।¹² शम्भुस्वामि।¹² त्रिविक्रमस्वामि।¹² भट्टनरकदेव।¹²
दूर्व्वस्वामि।¹² माधवस्वामि।¹² वामनस्वामि।¹² उ(?)¹⁴र्णास्वामि।¹² एवं वाजसनेयि
श्रीभट्ट—

8. The expression पर्व्वतद्रोणी may indicate the hilly area of the village of Komparāka. B. Misra reads कोम्पराक. Scholars sometimes believe Daṇḍāṅki and Yoka as two separate villages – see, B. Das, *The Bhauma-Karas, the Buddhist Kings of Orissa and their Times*, Delhi (1976), p. 90.

9. Read ब्राह्मणेभ्यो.

10. The punctuation mark given after the name of each donee seems to have been intended for distinguishing one name from the other.

11. The intended reading is वामन.

12. The punctuation mark after each name seems to have been intended to distinguished each donee from the other.

13. The first syllable of the name is lost due to corrosion.

14. The letter, is doubtful.

16. [सर्वणा]ग¹⁵।¹⁸ भट्टविष्णुवर्द्धन।¹⁸ शान्तिवर्द्धन।¹⁸ स्थिरवर्द्धन।¹⁸ वृषभवर्द्धन।¹⁸ शुभलक्षण।¹⁸ हरिघोष।¹⁸ भट्टशक्रदत्त।¹⁸ प्रमोदस्वामि*।¹⁶।¹⁸ पुरन्दरस्वामि*।¹⁸ दामोदरस्वामि*।¹⁸ नरद—
17. तस्वामि*।¹⁸ [हर्षद]तस्वामि*।¹⁸ वत्सदत्तस्वामि*।¹⁸ भट्टदिवाकर।¹⁸ भट्टदिनकर।¹⁸ भट्टदेवकुण्ड।¹⁸ हरिकुण्ड।¹⁸ देउक्कास्वामि*।¹⁸ गोमिचन्द्र-
स्वामि*।¹⁸ वसुभद्रस्वामि*।¹⁸ रिषिकेश¹⁷।¹⁸ जनार्दनस्वामि*।¹⁸ वेद—
18. शर्मस्वामि*।¹⁸ श्रीधरस्वामि*।¹⁸ पुरुषोत्तमस्वामि*।¹⁸ भट्टयज्ञदेव¹⁹।¹⁸ दडि-
स्वामि*।¹⁸ भट्टोदयकुण्ड।¹⁸ वट्टुदामोदर।¹⁸ शुभाकरस्वामि*।¹⁸ भट्टपुरुषोत्तम।¹⁸
एडुस्वामि*।¹⁸ पृथिवीस्वामि*।¹⁸ थिरोस्वामि*।²⁰
19. धृ(धु)वदेवस्वामि*।¹⁸ छात्र नारायणस्वामि*।¹⁸ कुमारभूतिस्वामि*।¹⁸
भट्टगोविन्द।¹⁸ गोष्ठदेवस्वामि*।¹⁸ दूर्वाकूटस्वामि*।¹⁸ रिषिणाग²¹स्वामि*।¹⁸
भट्टमनोरथ।¹⁸ गाडस्वामि*।¹⁸ स्थावरस्वामि*।¹⁸ भट्टसुदर्शन।¹⁸

Reverse

20. भट्टगाडदेव।¹⁸ स्थिरदेवस्वामि*।¹⁸ व्र(ब्र)ह्मस्वामि*।¹⁸ एवं छान्दीश²²
भट्टापरदेव।¹⁸ रुद्रदेवस्वामि*।¹⁸ महादेवस्वामि*।¹⁸ अग्निहोत्रि माधव-
स्वामि*।¹⁸ ददास्वामि*।¹⁸ भण्डस्वामि*।¹⁸ शितिकण्ठस्वामि*।¹⁸ वन—
21. मालस्वामि*।¹⁸ केशवस्वामि*।¹⁸ सङ्कस्वामि*।¹⁸ क्षि(क्षी)रोदस्वामि*।¹⁸
रि(अृ)षिस्वामि*।¹⁸ मन्दरदेवस्वामि*।¹⁸ मधुसूदनस्वामि*।¹⁸ हरदेव-
स्वामि*।¹⁸ श्रीधरस्वामि*।¹⁸ भट्टमहादेव।¹⁸ भट्टत्रिभुवन।¹⁸ भट्टजना—
22. र्द्धन।¹⁸ भट्टभवदेव।¹⁸ गण्णाकोणास्वामि*।¹⁸ भट्टकाह्लदेव।¹⁸ भट्टगोविन्ददेव।¹⁸
शोभनदेव।¹⁸ वोवास्वामि*।¹⁸ द्वितीयवोवास्वामि*।¹⁸ वेल्लुस्वामि*।¹⁸ चच्चा(?)
स्वामि*।¹⁸ उत्पलदेवस्वामि*।¹⁸

15. Read शर्वनाग.

16. The word स्वामि has been indicated by the first syllable स्वा upto the end of the charter in order to avoid repetition.

17. Read अृषिकेश.

18. The punctuation mark after each name to have been intended to distinguish each donee from the other.

19. R.D. Banerji and B. Misra read यज्ञस्वामि*.

20. The intended reading is [मि*].

21. Read अृषिनाग.

22. Read छान्दस.

23. [कू]र्मस्वा[मि*][।]²³ वृषभस्वा[मि*]²³ प्रु(धु)वदेवस्वा[मि*]²³ गुहदेवस्या[मि*]²³ एडुस्वा[मि*]²³ माधवदेवस्वा[मि*]²³ गोविन्ददेवस्वा[मि*]²³ का[ल]स्वा[मि*]²³ व(ब)लभद्रस्वा[मि*]²³ रि(अ)षि(ष)भस्वा[मि*]²³ अृषिकेशस्वा[मि*]²³
24. धु(घू)लावृतस्वा[मि*]²³ एडुधरस्वा[मि*]²³ भास्करस्वा[मि*]²³ गोरक्षित-स्वा[मि*]²³ पदुमस्वा[मि*]²³ दामुस्वा[मि*]²³ अृषिस्वा[मि*]²³ [दू]र्व-स्वा[मि*]²³ शङ्करभूतिस्वा[मि*]²³ छात्र वासुदेवस्वा[मि*]²³ अग्नि-
25. होत्तिभय्यास्वा[मि*]²³ एवं अ(आ)थर्व भट्टपुरोहित भवदेव²³ भट्टदहो²³ अर्गुण्डास्वा[मि*]²³ भट्टदहस्वा[मि*]²³ दामोदरस्वा[मि*]²³ नारायणस्वा[मि*]²³ व[ल्ल]भस्वा[मि*]²³ व(ब)लभद्रस्वा[मि*]²³
26. पद्मनाभस्वा[मि*]²³ बुद्धस्वा[मि*]²³ धात्रिस्वा[मि*]²³ इन्द्रशर्मस्वा[मि*]²³ हन्स(हंस)देवस्वा[मि*]²³ भावस्वा[मि*]²³ पुष्यस्वा[मि*]²³ भूमिदेवस्वा[मि*]²³ मेरुदेवस्वा[मि*]²³ भवदेवस्वा[मि*]²³ अपरव(ब)लभद्रस्वा[मि*]²³
27. अपरभवदेवस्वा[मि*]²³ घडि(?)स्वा[मि*]²³ गोविन्दस्वा[मि*]²³ सोमस्वा[मि*]²³ वर्ण्टस्वा[मि*]²³ गयाधरस्वा[मि*]²³ हलधरस्वा[मि*]²³ मालाधरस्वा[मि*]²³ केशवविद्य(म्ब)स्वा[मि*]²³ महि(हो)धरस्वा[मि*]²³ वोवास्वा[मि*]²³ भव-
28. स्वा[मि*]²³ शि(शी)लस्वा[मि*]²³ चन्द्रस्वा[मि*]²³ दामो[द*]रस्वा[मि*]²³ मेरुस्वा[मि*]²³ भाडस्वा[मि*]²³ सागरस्वा[मि*]²³ आढकदहस्वा[मि*]²³ धृ(धु)वस्वा[मि*]²³ कक्कास्वा[मि*]²³ मधुसूदनस्वा[मि*]²³ अवदितदह-स्वा[मि*]²³ अपरशि(शी)त-
29. लस्वा[मि*]²³ भट्टपुत्रमधुसूदन²³ भट्टपुत्रशिवदेव²³ हण्डिकापतिपुष्यस्वा[मि*]²³ आपस्वा[मि*]²³ पृथिवि(वी)स्वा[मि*]²³ जीवाम(न)न्दस्वा[मि*]²³ वरुण-स्वा[मि*]²³ अृषिस्वामिभ्यः एकत्र ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्म-
30. णशतदयाय ताम्रपट्टेनाकरत्वेनास्माभि[*] प्रतिपादितो(त)²⁴ स्तदेषास्मद(ह)त्तिध-(र्ध)र्मगौरवा[त्*] भवद्भिः परिपालनीयेति। सम्बत् ३०²⁵ मार्ग वदि १०.६।

23. The punctuation mark after each name seems to have been intended to distinguish each donee from the other.

24. The punctuation is superfluous.

25. B. Misra takes the final I of the word सम्बत् as the numerical symbol for 50 and reads the year as 58. But there is only one numerical symbol quite clearly resembling 30 as shown in G.H. Ojha's भारतीय प्राचीन लिपिमाला, Plates LXXII and LXXIII. R.D. Banerji reads the first symbol as 8 which is found in the decimal system and which was not in use in the Bhauma-Kara kingdom during 8th century A.D. He also wrongly reads the first numerical figure of the day as 20. The number of days of a fortnight being 15 and the symbol for 10 very clear in the facsimile, it should be 10.3(=13) instead of 20.3(=23).

31. उक्तञ्च धर्मशास्त्रे[१*] वहिभिर्वसुधा²⁶ बत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः[१*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्)।[१*१] मा भूदफलशङ्काः वः परदत्ते(त्ते)ति
 32. पाथि(र्थि)वा[१*] स्वदानात्फलमानन्त्यं परदत्तानुपालने।[१*२] षष्टिंश्व(व)र्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः[१*] आक्षेप्ता ता(चा)नुमन्ता च तान्येव
 33. नरकं(के) वसेत्।[१*३] व(ब)हुनात्र किमुक्तेन संक्षेपादिदमुच्यते[१*] स्वल्पमायुः²⁷ श्चला भोगा धर्मो लोकद्वय [१*]क्षमः।[१*४] दूतकोत्र महाक्षपटला-
 34. धिकरणाधिकृतसमुद्रदत्तः। लिखित[१] महाक्षपटलिकभोगि[क] ब्र(ब्र)ह्मदत्त(त्ते)न। तापित[१] पेटापाल²⁸ नारायणेन। उत्कीर्ण(र्ण) तट्टकारण्डदत्ते(त्ते)न²⁹ [१*]

Abstract of Contents

The charter begins with a symbol for *siddham* and the word *svasti*. In line 1 the charter is stated to have been issued from the victorious camp (or capital) named *Guhadeva-pāṭaka*. Lines 1-3 record that there was an illustrious king in the family of Bhauma named Kṣemaṅkaradeva who was a *Paramopāsaka*, 'a follower of the Buddhist faith'. He is stated to have established the four castes in their proper duties. He had the illustrious son named Śivakaradeva, endowed with the religious title of *Paramatathāgata*, 'a devout worshipper of the Buddha' and *Śrī-Bharasaha*, 'one who is capable of bearing the load'. Lines 3-5 record that from Śivakara was born the illustrious king Śubhākara, the reigning king who issued the charter. He has been endowed with the titles of *Paramasaugata*, 'the devout worshipper of the Sugata' or Buddha, and *Mahārāja* and said to have meditated on the feet of his parents. He has been described as the mine of good conduct and qualities and the one who had pacified the disturbance caused by his kinsmen who were desirous of undue influence and power. Lines 5-9 states that the royal order relating to the grant was addressed to the present and future *Mahāsāmantas*, *Mahārājas*, *Rājaputras*, *Antaraṅgas*, *Kumāras*, *Uparikas*, *Viṣayapatis*, *Tadāyuktakas*, *Dāṇḍapāśikas*, *Sthānāntarikas* and other royal dependants including the *cāṭas* and *bhaṭas*, residing in Uttara Tosali. The order was also announced before the officials of the *Viṣayas* or districts of Pāñcāla and Vubhyudaya, situated in Uttara Tosali, such as

26. Read बहुभिर्वसुधा.

27. The *visarga* is superfluous.

28. R.D. Banerji reads पेटपाल.

29. R.D. Banerji reads the name as एउदत्त(त्ते).

Mahāmahattara, *Bṛhadbhogin*, *Pustapāla* (*Pustakapāla*) and their assistants. The order states that the grant of two villages, namely, Parvatadroni-Komparāka and Daṇḍāṅkiyoka, situated in the above-mentioned two *viṣayas*, was made by naming the two villages as *Salonapur-ādhivāsa*³⁰ in favour of two hundred Brāhmaṇas³¹ belonging to different *gotras* and *caraṇas* and well versed in the four Vedas. The grant is said to have been made permanent for accruing religious merit for the king himself, his parents and for all other creatures. It is stated to have been granted along with *uparikara* or additional taxes, the space above the ground and made free from all obstructions. Lines 10-29 record in detail the names of the Brāhmaṇa donees along with the Vedic schools they belonged. Line 30 records that the grant was made by means of a copper-plate charter in favour of two hundred Brāhmaṇas and the advice that the gift should be preserved out of respect for religion. The date of the issue of the grant is also mentioned in this line as *the year 30, the 13th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Mārgaśira*. Lines 31-33 record four of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. Lines 33-34 record the names of the royal officers associated with the grant of the villages. Samudradatta, the *Mahākṣapatalādhikṛta*, acted as the *dūtaka*. The charter is stated to have been written by the *Mahākṣapatalika* and the *Bhogika* named Brahmadatta. It was heated for affixing the seal by Nārāyaṇa, the *Peṭāpāla* and incised by the *Taṭṭhakāra*, 'the brazier' named Eḍadatta.

30. R.D. Banerji has overlooked this portion of the grant in his interpretation of the text though he has read the new name of the gift villages in line 8.

31. R.D. Banerji has interpreted as one hundred Brāhmaṇas. There are, in fact, names of 204 Brāhmaṇas of different Vedic schools, recorded in this charter.

No. 5

Dhuli Cave Inscription of Śāntikara; Year 93

- Provenance* : Dhuli hill near Bhubaneswar, Puri District.
Reference : 1. R.D. Banerji, *EI*, XIX, 263-64 and plate.
 2. B. Misra, *OUBK*, 11.
 3. K.C. Panigrahi, *CBKSO*, 60-61.
Language : Sanskrit, in prose.
Script : Eastern variety of North Indian alphabet of about 9th century A.D.
Date : Year 93.

Text¹

1. श्रीशान्तिकरदेवराज्यस—
2. म्वत् ९०.३ इज्यागर्भजेन
3. विरजो²वास्तव्य वैद्यन[न्]—
4. टपुत्र भीमटेनात्र³ भट्ट⁴—
5. लोयोम[के]नार्घ्यकावराटि⁵
6. मठा(ठो)यं दू(?)येभ्यां⁶ कारितो [।*]
7. - - - - - बा(?) - स्तक⁷(?)

-
1. From the facsimile in *EI*, XIX, facing page 264.
 2. K.C. Panigrahi and B. Misra read विरजावास्तव्यो
 3. R.D. Banerji reads भीमटपौत्र; B. Misra reads भीमटेन[च*]पौत्र
 4. K.C. Panigrahi reads पट्ट[शि]—
 5. K.C. Panigrahi reads the line as तायामख्यनदशुभवराटि [।*]. B. Misra suggests to read वराटिका to suit the word अर्घ्यका so as to denote the “seed vessel of lotus”; R.D. Banerji reads नाघ्यका —
 6. The intended reading may be द्वायेभ्यां which is also the reading of B. Misra, R.D. Banerji reads देयेभ्य(?) ; K.C. Panigrahi reads the line as—मठाद्यं स्थापितं कारित —
 7. R.D. Banerji reads three letters at the end of the line as [बा]रक; K.C. Panigrahi reads these letters as—माचन्द्राक⁸ [।*]

Abstract of Contents

The inscription records that in the *year 93*, during the reign of *Śrī-Śāntikaradeva*, the monastery called *Arghyakā-Varāṭi* was constructed here (on the hill), by the physician *Bhīmaṭa*, who was born of the womb of *Ijyā* and the son of *Nannaṭa*; and by *Bhaṭṭa Loyomaka* (a *Brāhmaṇa*).⁸

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8. R.D. Banerji takes *Bhaṭṭa Loyomaka* as the son of the physician *Nannaṭa* and grandson of *Bhīmaṭa*. B. Misra takes *Bhaṭṭa Loyomaka* as the grandson of *Nannaṭa*. K.C. Panigrahi interpretes, "the first monastery was caused to be established till the sun and the moon exist, by *Bhīmaṭa*, son of the physician *Nannaṭa*, an inhabitant of *Virajā*, and who was born from the womb of *Ijyā*". It may be pointed out here that *Loyomaka* has been clearly designated here as a *bhaṭṭa*, i.e., a *Brāhmaṇa*, whereas, *Nannaṭa* and his son have been styled as *vaidya* or *bhiṣak*, i.e., the physician and their names have not been prefixed with *bhaṭṭa* in this record as well as in the one found in the *Gaṇeśagumphā* of the *Khandagiri* hill near *Bhubaneswar*, (No. 6).

No. 6

Gaṇeśagumphā Inscription of the Time of Śāntikara

- Provenance* : Gaṇeśagumphā (cave) in the Khandagiri hill at Bhubaneswar, Puri District.
- Reference* : 1. R.D. Banerji, *EI*, XIII, 167 and plate.
2. B. Misra, *OUBK*, 10.
3. K.C. Panigrahi, *CBKSO*, 59-60.
4. S.N. Rajaguru, *JAHS*, IV, 189-194.
- Language* : Sanskrit, in verse.
- Metres* : Verses 1-2 *Anuṣṭubh*.
- Script* : Eastern variety of North Indian alphabet of about 9th century A.D.
- Date* : Not dated.

Text¹

1. श्रीशान्तिकरसौराज्यादाचन्द्रावर्क
2. गृहे² गृहे³। वेदिसज्ञे⁴ मुनेः प्र(पु?)ङ्गे⁵ ग—
3. जास्य विरजो जने⁶॥[९*] इज्यागर्भसमु—

-
1. From the facsimile in *EI*, XIII, facing page 167.
 2. R.D. Banerji takes it to be a mistake for शुभे।
 3. K.C. Panigrahi suggests शुभे[*] and overlooks the mark of punctuation; Rajaguru reads गृहे गुहे।
 4. R.D. Banerji reads खदि and suggests वेदि; K.C. Panigrahi reads the line as खोदिदशङ्कुमुनाद्रङ्गे and interpretes it as, “playfully born from the sharp point of the excavating chisel”.
 5. B. Misra reads पुङ्गे which seems to be more probable.
 6. K.C. Panigrahi reads— जास्याधिराजोजनि॥; R.D. Banerji reads विरजे जने and suggests to read विरजोदने; Rajaguru reads गजस्य धोरणा दिव।

4. ब्रूतो नन्नटस्य सुतो भिषक्। भीमटो⁷
5. याचते धान्यप्रस्थं⁸ सम्वत्सरात्पुनः⁹॥[२*]

Abstract of Contents

The first verse of the inscription records the prayer that the prosperous reign of Śrī-Śāntikara may endure as long as the moon and the sun exist, and prevail upon every house of the people of Virajā by the grace of lord Gaṇeśa and the assembly of sages (residing in the caves of the hill). The second verse records that Bhīmaṭa, the physician, who was born of the womb of Ijyā and was the son of Nannaṭa, made a vow in order to donate one *prastha* measure of paddy every year (apparently for feeding the sages and for the worship of lord Gaṇeśa).¹⁰

-
7. Rajaguru reads भीमतो
 8. R.D. Banerji and B. Misra read वान्यप्रस्थं. Banerji, however, adds Pandit Binod Bihari Bidyavinod's suggestion that it may be धान्यप्रस्थं, i.e., 'a measure of rice'. Sten Konow, in his editorial note in *EI*, XIII, 167 and note 3, suggests that it may be a "secondary noun derived from *Vānaprastha*, anchorite".
 9. K.C. Panigrahi reads सम्वत्सरादन्युनः (नं)॥ and interpretes "for not less than an year". Rajaguru reads the line as, यावतो राजन् - - - वंशराथुव।
 10. The cave on the Khandagiri hill, where the above inscription is found engraved, is popularly known as Gaṇeśagumphā. An image of Gaṇeśa is found carved on its inner wall which is still worshipped by the local people as well as the pilgrims frequently visiting the site.

K.C. Panigrahi has interpreted the inscription as follows: "In the auspicious house (i.e., the cave) the elephant-faced king of kings (i.e., Gaṇeśa) was playfully born from the sharp point of the excavating chisel (to last) from the prosperous reign of the illustrious Śāntikara till the sun and the moon exist. The physician Bhīmaṭa, who is the son of Nannaṭa and is born from the womb of Ijyā, (now) asks for the quantity of paddy to last for not less than a year".—Cf. *CBKSO*, 59.

B. Misra interpretes the record as follows: "The physician Bhīmaṭa, the son of Nannaṭa, born of the womb of Ijyā, made a vow (*yācate*) after one year's practice of asceticism in the assembly of sages (*puṇge*) called *vedi* residing in every chamber (in the Khandagiri), and in the presence of pure being (i.e., the god) Gaṇeśa to practise again from the time of Śāntikaradeva's good reign till the sun and the moon exist".—*OUBK*, 10.

No. 7

Terundia Plate of Śubhākara; Year 100

- Provenance* : Terundia, Puri District.
Reference : D.C. Sircar, *EI*, XXVIII, 211-16 and plate.
Language : Sanskrit, partly in prose and partly in verse.
Metres : Verse 1 *Vasantatilakā*; v. 2 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; Verses 3-7 *Anuṣṭubh*; v. 8 *Puṣpītāgrā*; v. 9 *Malinī*.
Script : Eastern variety of North Indian alphabet of about 9th century A.D.
Date : Year 100, the 5th(?) day of the bright fortnight of the month of Vaiśākha.

Text¹

Obverse

1. सिद्धम्² [।*] स्वस्त्यति[रु?]द्रमातङ्गसंघातसमुत्तुङ्गप्राकारपरिक्षिप्तात्। क्षि(क्षी)राम्बु-
(म्बु)राशेरिवाशेषभोगिसमुपभुज्यम(मा)–
2. नसहजौ[द](दा)[र्य*] [संभा]रात्। गुहदेवपाटकावासितजयस्कन्धा(न्धा)वारात्।
[आ]सीदसाधार[ण]पराक्रमाङ्घ्रि(ङ्घ्रि) [प]पी[ठी*]कृतप्रतिसाम–
3. न्तचूडामणीन्द्रेषु³ [सुर]निवासभुप(व)ङ्गतेषु लक्ष्मीकरप्रभृतिषु भौमकुलमानवदेवेषु
तदन्ववायप्रभवः स्वप्रभावस–
4. मासादितसार्वभौमभावः परमोपासकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीशुभाकरदेवः।
तस्यात्म[जः] समुदपादि जग–
5. न्नमस्यः श्रीमान्नुपः शिवकरः शशिशेखराभः। यः सद्गुणप्रणयकृद्वृषपक्षपाति
[क्ष्माभृ]त्सुताप[रिण]योपहितप्र–
6. मोदः॥ [१*] यस्य प्रत्युपकारनिस्पृहमतेरर्थं यथाभ्यर्थितं स[र्वे]भ्यो ददतः कृपा-
मृतनिधेः स[न्तोष]तः स[र्व]दा। न प्रादात्सम–

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1. From the original; the plate is now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar.
 2. Expressed by a symbol.
 3. D.C. Sircar reads मणीन्द्रेषु

7. तां विनीय कवचं विप्राय वैकर्त्तनस्तच्छक्तिग्रहणापवर्जितनिजौर्ज्जित्य-
प्रव(ब)न्धोदयः॥ [२*] यः केसरीव [सूराग्रो] [धी]मां(मान्) श्रीसुगताश्र-
8. यः [।*] पितृभक्तः कुलोद्यो(द्यो)तिदीपः पुरुरिवाभवत्॥ [३*] तस्य तनयस्तत्पादानु-
ध्यातः परमसौगतः] प्रततभाग्यसम्ब(संव)-
9. लननिरत[म]होपायप[ल्लवि]तसमीहितातिशयो निरतिशयशास्त्रानुसारप्रवर्तितकृत-
युगोचितासङ्कीर्णव-
10. ण्णाश्रमव्यवस्थः सपद्यधिकधवलशोवितानतिरोहितदिलीपादिमहीपालप्रतीतिः
तामरसनाभ इव
11. विजितकुसुमवा(बा)णप्रसरो भीमा[ग्र]ज इव विद्धेपि शल्योद्धरणविशारदः
शारदमहाहद इव स्व[च्छान्त?] ⁴ राशय[*]
12. प्रथितभवानवङ्श(वंश)ललामभूतायां महादेव्यां श्रीमोहिनीदेव्यामवाप्तप्रसु(सू)तिः
परमभट्टारकमहारा-
13. जाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीशुभाकरदेवः कुशली॥ ⁵ दक्षिणतोसल्याम्(ल्यां) वर्त्तमानभविष्य-
न्महासामन्तमहारा-
14. जराजपुत्रान्तरङ्गकुमारामात्योपरिकविषयपतितदायुक्तकदाण्डपाशिकस्थानान्त-
रिकानन्या[नपि] राजप्रसा-
15. दिनश्चाटभटवल्लभजाति(ती)यान् सुलान्तरकुर्भविषयेपि महामहत्तरवृ(बृ)हद्भोगि-
पुस्तपालकुटको[ल*]साद्यधिकरणं य-
16. थाहं मानयति वो(बो)धयति [स]माज्ञापयति च विदितमस्तु भवतां य[थै]तद्विषय-
सम्ब(म्ब)द्धलवागण्डाग्रामः सोपरि-
17. करः सोद्देशः सतन्तुवाय[गोकु*]ट[शौण्डि]कादिप्रकृतिकः स[खे]ट[प्प]ट्टनदीतर-
[स्था]नादिगुल्मक[:] सर्व्व[पीडा] -
18. वर्ज्जितोलेखनीप्रवेशतया भूमिच्छिद्रापिधानन्यायेनाचन्द्रावर्कक्षितिसमकालं माता-
पित्रोरात्मनः सर्व्व[सत्त्वा] -
19. नाञ्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये राज्ञाः श्रीनृण्णाया विज्ञप्त्या तरमण्डपग्रामवास्तव्येभ्यो
भ(भा)रद्वाजसगो[त्र]वा[जसने*] -
20. यचरणक(का)ण्वशाखाध्यायिभ्यो भट्टभेण्डदेव ⁶ भट्टविद्राव[णदे]व ⁶ भट्टखेला-
वनदेव ⁶ [भट्ट]मेरु[दे]व ⁶

4. The corroded letters here are not legible in the original plate.

5. The punctuation is redundant.

6. The single *danda* is represented by a hyphen mark.

Reverse

21. भट्टराङ्गदे[व⁶] भट्टशणढदेवेभ्यो⁶ [त]रमण्डपग्राममध्ये तत्कारितमठी(ठ)मण्डप-
पालनाद्यर्थमस्माभिस्ताम्रशासनी—
22. कृत्या[क्षयनीवी]धर्मेणाकर[त्वेन] [प्रति]पादितः। तदेषास्मद(द्)तिर्द्धर्मगौरवाद्भवद्भिः
परिपालनीया[॥*] सम्बत् १००⁷ वै—
23. शाख सु(शु)दि [५?] ⁸। उक्तञ्च धर्मशा[स्त्रे] [॥*] व(ब)हुभि[र्व्व]सुधा दत्ता
राजभिस्सगरादिभिः। यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम्॥ [४*]
24. मा भूदफलशंका वः परदत्तेति पार्थिवा[ः]। स्वदानात्फलमानन्त्य ['] परदत्तानुपालने।
[॥*५] स्वदत्ता['] परदत्ताम्वा(तां वा) यो हरेत वसुन्ध—
25. [राम*]। स विष्ठाया['] कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते॥ [६*] व(ब)हुनात्र
किमुक्तेन संक्षेपादिदमुच्यते। स्वल्पमायुश्चला भोगा ध—
26. र्मो लोकद्वयं क्षमः॥ [७*] इति कमलदलाम्बु(म्बु)विन्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य
मनुष्यजीवितञ्च। अखिलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च
27. वु(बु)ध्वा(द्ध्वा) न हि पुरु[षैः] परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः॥ [८*] क्षितितलामलमास्ते
यावदाक्रम्य मेरुर्व्विल[स*]ति हरमौलै जह्नुक—
28. न्या च यावत् करनरपतिविरस्योरुकीर्तेः स्थिरत्वं व्रजतु जनमनोज्ञं शासनन्ता-
वदे[तत्]॥ [६*] दूतकोत्र महाक्षप—
29. टलाधिकृतश्रीतारदत्तः। लेखको महाक्षपटलिक भोग्यानन्दनागः। तापितं
पेडापा[ल*]नारायणकरेण॥ उत्की—
30. र्णं तठाकाराघाकमल्लुपुत्रेण॥

Abstract of Contents

The charter begins with a symbol for *siddham* and the word *svasti* followed by a passage in prose in lines 1-2 describing the city of *Guhadevapāṭaka* as *jaya-skandhāvāra* or 'the victorious camp', whence the charter is said to have been issued. This is followed by another prose passage in lines 3-4 stating that after the death of Lakṣmīkara and other kings of the Bhauma family, the throne passed to *Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Śubhākaradeva* who was called *Paramopāsaka*, 'a follower of the Buddhist faith'. He has been described as one who acquired

6. The single *daṇḍa* is represented by a hyphen mark.

7. D.C. Sircar reads a cipher after the numerical symbol for 100, but no such cipher is found in the original plate as well as in the facsimile.

8. The symbol has been doubtfully read due to the corroded nature of the plate.

sovereignty by his own heroic influence. Lines 4-8 record three verses describing Śivakara as the son and successor of Śubhākara and as *Sugat-āśraya*, 'a Buddhist'. Lines 8-13 introduce in a long passage in prose, Śivakara's son Śubhākara, the reigning king who is also the issuer of the present charter. He has been described as *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Parameśvara* and a *Paramasaugata*, 'a Buddhist'. He is stated to have established the order of the *varṇ-āśrama* in its golden age purity, strictly in accordance with the scriptures. He is said to have born of the queen Mohinīdevī who belonged to the family called Bhavāna-*vaṁśa*. Lines 13-15 record the royal order relating to the grant addressed to the present and future officials and subordinates belonging to Dakṣiṇa Tosali, designated as the *Mahāsāmantas*, *Mahārājas*, *Rājaputras*, *Antaraṅgas*, *Kumārāmātyas*, *Uparikas*, *Viṣayapatis*, *Tadāyuktakas*, *Dāṇḍapāśikas*, *Sthānāntarikas* and other dependants, including the *cāṭa*, *bhaṭa* and *vallabha* categories. The royal order is also stated in lines 15-16 to have been addressed to such officers of the *viṣaya* of Sulāntarakurbha as the *Mahāmahattara*, *Brhadbhogin*, *Pustapāla* and *Kuṭakola* and their *adhikaraṇas* or the assistants. Lines 16-22 mention that the village called Lavāgaṇḍā situated in the said *viṣaya* was granted by the king as a revenue-free and permanent gift in favour of a number of Brāhmaṇas at the request of the queen Nṛṇṇā.⁹ The Brāhmaṇa donees, who are stated to have been the inhabitants of Taramaṇḍapa-*grāma*, are named as *Bhaṭṭa* Bheṇḍadeva, *Bhaṭṭa* Vidrāvaṇadeva, *Bhaṭṭa* Khelāvanadeva, *Bhaṭṭa* Merudeva, *Bhaṭṭa* Rāṅgadeva and *Bhaṭṭa* Śaṇḍhadeva. All of them are said to have belonged to Bhāradvāja *gotra* and to have been students of the Kāṇva *sākhā* of the Vājasaneyā *carāṇa* of the Yajurveda. The village is said to have been granted together with the additional taxes, the space above the ground with the subjects such as the *tantuvāya* (weaver), *gokuṭa* (milkman), *śauṇḍika* (vinter) etc., and along with the *gulmakas* (outposts), *kheṭa* (hamlet), *ghaṭṭa* (harbour) and *nadītara-sthāna* (ferries). It is said to have been made free from all troubles. It is also said to have been made free from all troubles. It is also said to have been granted by reclaiming fallow land (apparently in the said village) according to the custom of *bhūmi-chidra-pidhāna-nyāya*, and for accruing religious merit for the reigning king and his parents as well as for all other creatures. The grant is stated to have been made to the Brāhmaṇas for the maintenance of the religious establishments built by them

9. The expression *rājñī* seems to suggest that she was one of the queens of Śubhākara, the issuer of the grant.

in the village of Taramaṇḍapa. This is followed by the mention of the king's entreaty in lines 22-23, to the future rulers of the kingdom and the date of the issue of the grant as the *year 100, the 5th(?) day of the bright fortnight of the month of Vaiśākha*. Lines 23-27 contain five of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses which are followed by another verse in lines 27-28, praying for the permanence of the Kara king's charter recorded on the plate. Lines 28-29 refer to the *dūtaka* or the executor of the grant named Tāradatta who has been designated as *Mahākṣapaṭalādhikṛta*. Lines 29 refers to Ānandanāga, the writer of the charter, who was a *bhogin* and also designated as *Mahākṣapaṭalika*. The same line refers to Nārāyaṇakara, designated as *Peḍāpāla*, who heated the plate. The name of the engraver Āghāka, designated as *Taṭhakāra*, and as the son of Mallu is mentioned at the end in line 30.

No. 8

Hindol Plate of Śubhākaradeva; Year 103

- Provenance* : Chitalpur, in the ex-State of Hindol, Dhenkanal District.
Reference : 1. B. Misra, *JBORS*, XVI, 69-83 and plate.
 2. B. Misra, *OUBK*, 12ff.
Language : Sanskrit, partly in prose and partly in verse.
Metres : Verses 1-2, 4-5 *Vasantatilakā*; v. 3 *Indravajrā*; vv. 6-9 *Anuṣṭub*; v. 10 *Puṣpitāgrā*; v. 11 *Sragdharā*.
Script : Eastern variety of North Indian alphabet of about 9th century A.D.
Date : Year 103, the 7th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Śrāvaṇa.

Text¹

Obverse

1. सिद्धम्² स्वस्ति[*] स्रवन्मदजलद्विरदेन्द्रवृन्दरङ्गतुरङ्गममहोर्मिहतावकाशात्।
अम्भोनिधेरिव जि—
2. ताखिलराजलोकशुभ्रातपत्त्र(त्र) पृथुपेन वितानगौरात्॥[१*] ³गुहदेवपाटकावासित-
जयस्कन्धावारात्।
3. भौमान्ववायकमलाकर भास्करेषु लक्ष्मीकरादिषु नृपेषु दिवं गतेषु। आतिथ्यसत्कृति-
ससम्भ्रम—
4. देवराजश्रीमन्निजासननिवेशनलालितेषु॥[२*] तदन्वये जितारातिरभूत्परमसौगतः।⁴
त्रैलोक्यविलसत्की—
5. र्त्तिर्नृपतिः श्रीशुभाकरः॥(।) प्रज(जा)पतिः सन्नपि सत्यभामासमन्वितोय[.]
परमेश्वरोपि।⁴ श्रुतो वि—
6. शा(षा)दी न कदाचिदेव क्षतारिदीप्तिः पुरुषोत्तमोपि॥[३*] तस्यात्मजस्त्रिदिवराज

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1. From the original. The plate is now preserved in the Orissa State Museum.
 2. Expressed by a symbol.
 3. B. Misra reads श्री before the name.
 4. Punctuation is superfluous.

- इव प्रसूतो दुर्वारिवै—
7. रिब(ब)लनिर्दलनैकवीरः। सर्वातिशायिधिषणातुललालितश्रीख्यातो भृष(शो) जगति शान्तिकरः क्षितीश—
 8. :॥[४*] त्यागेषु यस्य नृपतेरतुलोद्भवस(स्य) सङ्कीर्तितेषु भुवने द्रविणाधिपस्य। निःसंशयं धनद इत्यभिधानमे—
 9. तदद्यापि दु(दू)रमुपसर्जनतामुपैति ॥[५*] तस्य तनयस्तत्पादानुध्यातः श्रीमन्नागो-
द्भवकुलललामभवायाम्—
 10. हादेव्याम्⁵ श्रीत्रिभुवनमहादेव्यामवाप्तजन्मा सज्जनसरोजविकास(श)वांसरपतिः
सत्यधनो निखिलागम(मा)—
 11. न्तसारगम्भीरप्रज्ञासम्भारः प्रचुरभुजव(ब)लभयविकलवैरिव(ब)लप्रणतिलालित-
चरणकमलः सक—
 12. लकालप्रस्तुतद्रविणदानजनितनिखिलजनुप्रमोदो(द)विकासि(शि)तकमलोप्यती-
व्रकरः करभीङ्गतदु⁶—
 13. र्म्मदमहीपाला(लो)प्यपनीतव(ब)लिविलासः प्रोत्फुल्लकल्पपादप इव कलिकालाप-
मुक्तविषयो दुग्धोद—
 14. धेरिवाहिमकरगुरुप्रतापः परमभट्टारको महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीशुभाकरदेवः
कुशली। उ—
 15. त्तरतोसल्याम्ब⁷र्तमानभविष्यन्महासामन्तमहाराजराजपुत्रान्तरङ्गकुमारामात्यो-
परिकविषयपति—
 16. तदायुक्तकदाण्डपाशिकस्थानान्तरिकानन्यानपि राजप्रसादिनश्चाटभटवल्लभ-
जाति(ती)याङ्को⁸ङ्कविराविषये⁹पि
 17. महामहत्तरवृ(बृ)हद्भोगिपुस्त[क*]पालकूटकोलसाद्यधिकरणं यथार्हम्मा¹⁰नयति
वो(बो)ध[य*]ति समाज्ञ(ज्ञा)पयति च।¹¹ विदित—
 18. मस्तु भवताम्। एतद्विषयसम्ब(म्ब)द्धा(द्धो) नोडुलोग्रामः सोपरिकरः सोदेशः सतन्त्र¹²-
वायगोकुटशौण्डिकादिप्रकृ—

5. Read भवायां महादेव्यां

6. Read करभीं गत—

7. Read ल्यां व—

8. Read यान् को—

9. B. Misra reads the name of the district as काङ्कविरा.

10. Read हं मा—

11. The punctuation is redundant

12. Read सतन्तुवाय.

19. तिक[*]सखेटघट्टनदीतरस्थानादिगुल्मक[:] सर्व्वपीडावर्जितो[ऽ]लेखनीप्रवेशतया भूमिच्छिद्रापिधानन्यायेनाच—
20. न्द्रावर्कक्षितिसमकालं मातापित्रोरात्मनः सर्व्वसत्त्वा[ना*]ञ्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये पुलिन्द-
राजविज्ञप्त्या यवागुलोपाटिका—
21. याम्।¹³ तत्कारितपुलिन्देश्वरायतने प्रतिष्ठापितस्य भगवतो वैद्यनाथभट्टारकस्य
ग्रामार्द्धेन सततस्नपनगन्धपुष्प—
22. दीपधूपनिवेद्यव(ब)लिचरुपु(पू)जादिप्रवर्त्तनार्थं पादमूलस्य ग्रासाच्छाद[न*]परिकल्प-
नार्थं खण्डस्फुटिताद्यभिस[*]स्का—
23. रार्थमपराद्धेन शैवाचाय(र्य)त[प*]स्विनां सत्रकौपीनोत्तरासङ्गलानभैषज्यार्थं दानपतेः
प्रत्यहं तण्डुलाढकैः षड्भिः[*]¹⁴
24. हिरण्यपणचतुष्टयेन वर्त्तनार्थञ्चास्माभिस्ताम्रशासनीकृत्याक्षयनीवीधर्मेणाकरत्वेन
प्रतिपादितस्तदेषास्म—
25. इति धर्म¹⁵गौरवाद्भवद्भिः परिपालनीया[॥*] सम्वत् १००.३ श्रावण शुदि ७[।*]
उक्तञ्च धर्मः¹⁶शास्त्रे[।*] व(ब)हुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राज—
26. भिः सगरादिभिः। यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम्॥[६*] मा
भूदफलशङ्का व[*] परदत्तेति पार्थिवाः। स्वदाना—

Reverse

27. त्फलमानन्त्य[] पर[द]त्तानुपा[ल]ने।[।*७] स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ताम्वा¹⁷ यो हरेत
वसुन्धराम्। स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्य—
28. ते॥[८*] व(ब)हुनात्र किमुक्तेन [संक्षेपादि]¹⁸दमुच्यते। स्वल्पमायुश्चला भोगा धर्मो
लोकद्वयक्षमः॥[९*] इति कमलदलाम्बु(म्बु)—
29. विन्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च। अखिलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च वु(बु)द्धा न
हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त(र्त्त)यो विलोप्याः॥[१०*]
30. यावच्चन्द्रावर्कमौलेः शिरसि शशिकला कौमुदीमातनोति लक्ष्मीर्वक्षः स्थले वा वसति
मधुरिपोर्यावदद्भोजह—

13. The punctuation is redundant.

14. B. Misra reads षड्भिः

15. B. Misra reads धर्म

16. *Visarga* is superfluous.

17. Read स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा

18. Letters have been damaged here due to corrosion.

31. स्ता। उद्धृत्तारातिलक्ष्मीहठहरणकलालालितासव्यपाणेरास्तां सिंहध्वजस्य प्रववर्त्त¹⁹
नृपतेः शासनन्तावदे—
32. तत्॥ [११*] दूतकोऽत्र महाक्षपटलाधिकृतवृ(बृ)हद्भोगी²⁰। लेखको महाक्षपटलिक-
भोगिहरवरः। तापितम्पेडा²¹—
33. पालरामदेवेन। उत्कीर्णन्तद्वृ²²कारविजयजीवेनानन्दजीवपुत्रेणेति॥ ग्रामस्यास्य सीमा
कथ्यते। पूर्वदिशि
34. पूर्वोत्तरकोणे धान्यमादजोटार्द्धप्रोप्तशिलायाः समारभ्य दक्षिणाभिमुखं तज्जोटार्द्ध-
स्रोतसा शाखाट—
35. कवितपेन करञ्जतरुणा च गत्वा किञ्चित्पूर्वं वलित्वा उ(अ)श्वथं प्राप्य मृगजानुना
गत्वा व(ब)न्धजोटं(ट)मुत्तीर्य शृगा—
36. लजोटार्द्धस्रोतसा दूरं गत्वा पूर्वदक्षिणकोणे वनमन्दारतलप्रोप्तशिलां यावत्। ततो
दक्षिणदिशि पश्चि—
37. माभिमुखं सर्पगत्या सीमाजोटिकया वृ(बृ)हदाम्रतरुमभ्यन्तरीकृत्य प्रोप्तशिलापङ्का-
पोल्लाम्रतरु—
38. तलेन वणपोलाण्डाकमभ्यन्तरीकृत्य दूर[*] गत्वा दक्षिणपश्चिमकोणे प्रोप्तशिलां²³
यावत्। ततः पश्चिमदिश्चु—
39. त्तराभिमुखमन्तरान्तरा प्रोप्तशिला पक्षादूरं गत्वा तेन्द्राकतरुतलप्रोप्तशिलां यावत्।
ततो उत्तरदिशि पू—
40. र्वाभिमुखं गङ्गाट्टिजोटार्द्धस्रोतसा स्तोकं गत्वा दक्षिणाभिमुखेन त(ता)मेव जोटमुत्तीर्य
पुनः पूर्वाभिमुखं
41. दूर[*] गत्वा प्रथमसंसूचित सीमा यावत्॥

Abstract of Contents

The charter begins with a symbol for *siddham* and the word *svasti*. Then it records a verse describing the victorious camp whence the charter is said to have been issued and the name of which is mentioned as *Guhadevapāṭaka*, in a short passage in prose, following the verse. Verses

19. Read प्रवर्त्तु

20. The name of the officer is omitted, perhaps due to the inadvertance of the scribe.

21. Read तापितं पेडा—

22. Read उत्कीर्णं तद्वृ—

23. The sign for *anusvāra* is given over the letter शि.

2 and 3 record that when the kings such as Lakṣmīkara and others of the Bhauma family had gone to heaven, there flourished in that family, the king named Śubhākara, endowed with the title of *Paramasaugata*, 'a devotee of the Buddha', whose glory pervaded the three worlds and has never impaired by his adversaries. He has been endowed with the epithet of *Puruṣottama*, 'the best of men'. He has been compared with Satyabhāmā who caused family dissension, though he is said to have been the protector of the people. Verses 4 and 5 describe his son named Śāntīkara, as the lord of heaven, a renowned king in the world and who is said to have vanquished the army of his enemies, and is compared to the lord of wealth. A prose passage following these verses in lines 9-14 introduces his son Śubhākaradeva, the reigning king and the issuer of this charter. He is said to have been born to the queen Tribhuvanamahādevī, the daughter of the diadem of the Nāga family. He has been endowed with the titles of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*. Lines 15-25 contain another prose passage recording the details of the royal order relating to the grant made by the reigning king. The royal order has been addressed to the present and future *Mahāsāmantas*, *Mahārājas*, *Rājaputras*, *Antaraṅgas*, *Kumārāmātyas*, *Uparikas*, *Viṣayapatīs*, *Tadāyuktakas*, *Dāṇḍapāśīkas*, *Sihānāntarikas* and other royal favourites including the *cāṭas*, *bhaṭas* and *vallabha* categories of Uttara Tosali and also to the *Mahāmahattara*, *Bṛhadbhogin*, *Pustakapāla*, *Kuṭakola* and their *adhikaraṇas* or assistants living in the *viṣaya* or district of Koṅkavirā. The king is stated to have granted the village called Noḍḍilo, situated in the said *viṣaya* together with the *uparikara* or the additional or unfixed taxes, the space above the ground; with the weavers, herdsmen, the distillers and other artisans; with the hamlets, landing places and outposts etc., and according to the established principle of *bhūmi-chidra-pidhāna-nyāya* and not to be a subject of another document. The grant is said to have been made at the request of Pulindarāja. One half of the gift village has been granted in favour of the deity, lord Vaidyanātha (Śiva) enshrined in the premises of the temple called Pulindeśvara constructed by Pulindarāja, for offering of ablution to the deity, sandal-paste, flowers, lamp, incense, *bali*, *caru* etc., for the maintenance of the mendicants and for the repair of the dilapidation of the temple. The other half of the gift is said to have been meant for making provisions for the Śaivite *ācāryas* (teachers), of garments, meals and medicines and for the maintenance of the family of *Dānapati* or the Brāhmaṇa in charge of the worship of the deity and also in charge of

all functions associated with receiving the royal grant, with six *ādhakas* of husked rice everyday and four *paṇas* of coined money as salary for his service. The grant is stated to have been made a permanent endowment, according to the rule of *akṣaya-nivi*, to endure as long as the moon, the sun and the earth would exist, and made free from all obstruction, for accruing religious merit of the king and his parents. Line 25 records the date of the grant as the year 103, *the 7th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Śrāvaṇa*. Lines 25-29 deal with four of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. Lines 30-32 record another verse praying that the grant made by the king *Simhadvaja*, the reigning king, would continue to exist as long as the rays of the moon issue from the head of god Śiva who holds crescent on his head and as long as the goddess *Lakṣmī* with lotus in her hands sits in the heart of god Viṣṇu, the enemy of the demon Madhu. Lines 32-33 record the names of the royal officers associated with the grant. The *Mahākṣapaṭalādhikṛta*, *Brhadbhogin*, whose name is omitted in the record, acted as the *dūtaka* or the executor of the grant. The writer of the charter is named Haravara, the *Mahākṣapaṭalika* and the *Bhogin*. Rāmadeva, the *Peḍāpāla* or the keeper of the records, heated the plate for affixing the seal. The charter was incised by the *Taṭṭhakāra* or the brazier named Vijayajīva, son of Ānandajīva. Lines 33-41 specify the boundaries of the gift village. The boundary line commences from a stone planted on the east, on the north-eastern corner and in the middle of the stream called *Dhānyamada-joṭa*, then runs along its bed towards south and touches the *Śākhāṭaka* and *Karañja* trees, and then a little towards east, reaches the *Aśvattha* tree, then proceeds like the *Mṛga-jānu*, crosses the stream called *Vandha-joṭa* and after running along the middle of the stream called *Śṛgāla-joṭa* reaches the stone planted under the *Vana-mandāra* on the south-eastern corner. Then on the south, it runs like a serpent along the stream called *Simā-joṭikā* towards west and reaches the stone planted, keeps the large mango tree within, then passes under the mango tree at Panktāpolla, keeps the tree of *Vaṇa-Polāṇḍāka* within, and after proceeding for some distance it reaches the stone planted on the south-western corner. Then on the west, towards north it touches the stones planted at intervals and reaches up to the stone planted under the *Tendrāka* tree. Then on the north, it runs along the bed of the stream called *Gangatṭi-joṭa* towards east, after some distance then towards south and then crossing that *joṭa*, proceeds eastwards and reaches the first mentioned boundary line.

No. 9

Dharakote Plate of Śubhākaradeva; Year 103

<i>Provenance</i>	: Balichhai, near Dharakote, Ganjam District.
<i>Reference</i>	: 1. B. Misra, <i>OUBK</i> , 22ff. 2. S.N. Rajaguru, <i>JAHRS</i> , IV, parts, iii & iv, 189-194.
<i>Language</i>	: Sanskrit, partly in prose and partly in verse.
<i>Metres</i>	: Verses 1-2 and 4-5 <i>Vasantatilakā</i> ; v. 3 <i>Indravajrā</i> ; vv. 6-9 <i>Anuṣṭubh</i> ; v. 10 <i>Puṣpitāgrā</i> .
<i>Script</i>	: Eastern variety of North Indian alphabet of about 9th century A.D.
<i>Date</i>	: Year 103(?), the 4th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Bhādrapada(?).

Text¹

1. ²स्वस्ति[।*] स्रवन्मदजलद्विरदेन्द्रवृन्दरङ्गतुरङ्गममहोर्मिहतावकाशात्। [अम्भोनि-
धेरिव विजिता]—
2. खिलराजलोकशुभ्रातपन्न(त्र) पृ[थु]पेन वितान[गौरात्॥] [१*] श्रीगुहदेवपाटका-
वासित[जयस्कन्धावारात्। भौमा]—
3. न्ववायकमलाकरभास्करेषु लक्ष्मीकरादिषु नृपेषु दिवङ्गतेषु³ आतिथ्यसत्कृतिस-
सम्भ्रमदेवराजश्री—
4. मन्निजासननिवेशनलालितेषु[॥ * २] तदन्वये जितारातिरभूत्परमसौगत[:] त्रैलोक्य-
विलसत्कीर्तिर्नृपति[:] श्री—

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1. From the original. The plate is now preserved in the museum at Baripada in the district of Mayurbhanj. It is very much corroded and the letters at places have been damaged beyond recognition, especially, the date portion and the reverse side of the record. The text has been prepared with the help of the Hindol plate of Śubhākara, Year 103. The similarity in the scripts engraved would indicate that both these grants were incised by one and the same person.
 2. The symbol for *siddham* which is usually found in the beginning of all the copper-plate records of the dynasty, is illegible here due to corrosion.
 3. Read दिवं गतेषु

5. शुभाकर[:॥](१) प्रजापति[:*] सन्नपि सत्यभामासमन्वितोय['] परमेश्वरोपि
श्रुतोविशा(सा)दी न कदाचिदेव क्षता—
6. रिदीप्तिः पुरुषोत्तमो[पि*]।[१*३] तस्यात्मजस्त्री(स्त्रि)दिवराज इव प्रसूतो
दुर्व्वरिवैरिव(ब)लनिर्दलन(नै)कवीर[:॥] सर्वातिशायिधिष—
7. [णा]तुललालितश्रीख्यातो भृश(शो) जगति शान्तिकरः क्षिति(ती)श[:॥*४] त्यागेषु
यस्य नृपतेरतुलोद्भवस्य सङ्की(संकी)—
8. [र्त्ति]तेषु भुवने [द्र]विणाधिपस्य[१*] नि[:*]शंसयं न्ध(ध)नद इत्यभिधानमेतदद्यापि
दुरमुपसर्जनता—
9. [मुपै]ति।[१*५] तस्य तनयस्तत्पादानुध्यात[:*] श्रीमन्नागोद्भव[कुल]-
ललामभवायाम्महादेव्या['] श्रीतृ(त्रि)[भु]वनमहा—
10. [देव्या]मवाप्तजन्मा सज्जनसरोजविकास(श)वासरपति[:][सत्यधनो]
निखिलागमान्तसारगम्भि(म्भी)रप्रज्ञासंभा—
11. [र:] प्रचुरभुजव(ब)लभयवि[कलवैरिव(ब)ल]प्रणतिलालितचरणकमल[:*]
सकलकालप्रस्तु—
12. [तद्रवि]णदानजनितनिखिलजनप्रमोददविकासितकमलोप्यतीव्रकरः करभीङ्ग^४त^५दु—
13. [र्म]दमहीपालोप्य[प*]नीत[व]लिविलास[:*] प्रोत्फुल्लकल्पपादप इव कलिका-
लापमुक्तवि—
14. [ष]यो दुग्धदोधेरिवाहिमकरगुरुप्रतापः॥^५ परमभट्टारको महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्व—
15. [र]श्रीशुभाकरदेव[:*] कुशली॥ [दक्षिणतोस]ल्यां कोङ्गोदमण्डले वर्तमानभविष्य-
न्महासामन्त[महा*]राजरा—
16. [ज]पुत्रान्तरङ्गकुमारामात्योपरिकविषयपतितदानियुक्त^६कदाण्डपाशिकस्थानान्तरि-
[कानन्या]—
17. [न]पि राजप्रसादिनश्चाटभटवल्लभजातीया[न्*] जयकटकविषये महामहत्तरवृ(बृ)ह-
द्भोगी(गि)पुस्त—
18. [क]पालकुटकोलसाद्यधिकरणं यथार्हम्मानयति वो(बो)धयति समाज्ञापयति च
विदित—
19. [म]स्तु भवतां(ताम्)[१*] एतद्विषयसम्ब(म्ब)द्धः गुज्जटा^७ग्रामोय['] सोपरिकर[:*]
सोदे(दे)श[:*] सतन्तुवायगोकुट—

4. Read करभी गत—

5. The punctuation is redundant.

6. Other records of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty usually read तदायुक्तक

7. B. Misra suggests गुण्डज; S.N. Rajaguru reads गुज्जाट

20. [शौण्डि]कादिप्रकृतिक[*] सखेटघ[ट्ट]नदी[तर]स्थानादिगुल्म[कः*] सर्व्वपीडा[व]-
ज्जित⁸ अलेखनीप्रवेश—
21. [तया] भूमिच्छिद्रा[पि]धानन्यायेनाचन्द्रावर्क[क्षिति]समकालं मातापित्तो(त्रो)रा[त्मनः
सर्व्वसत्वानाञ्च] पुण्या[भिवृद्ध]—
22. (ये) [माङ्गल्य(?)]गोत्राङ्गि(ङ्गी)रसप्रवर और्व्वशाव[र्ण]सानुप्रवर⁹ कौशि[क]गोत्र¹⁰-
विश्वामित्रप्रवरदेवरात[औद]—
23. लानुप्रवरवाजस[नेयचरण]भट्टनारायणदेवकण्ठ भट्टलुम्बादेव[मित्राभ्यामस्माभिस्ता]—
24. [म्रशासनीकृत्याक्षयनीवीधर्मेणाक]रत्वेन प्रतिपादितस्तदेषास्मद्वत्तिर्द्ध-
(र्ध)र्मगौरवाद्भव—
25. [द्भिः परिपालनीया[।] सम्ब[त् १००.३ भाद्रपद सु(शु)दि ४]¹¹ ॥ उक्तञ्च धर्म-
शास्त्रे[।] व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता [रा]जभिः
26. सगरादिभिः। [यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य] तस्य तदा फलं(फलम्)।[।*६] मा
भूयः(द)फलशङ्का वः परदत्तेति पार्थि—
27. वाः[।] [स्वदानात्फलमानन्त्यं परदत्तानुपाल]ने॥[७*] स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ताम्बा¹² यो
हरति¹³ वसुन्धरां(राम्)। स विष्ठायां कृ—
28. मि[र्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते॥] [८*] व(ब)हुनात्र किमुक्तेन [संक्षेपादिदमुच्यते]।
स्वल्पमायुश्चलाभोगा धर्मो—
29. लोकद्वय[क्षमः] [।*९] [इति कमलदलाम्बु(म्बु)विन्दुलोलां] श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्य
जीवित[ञ्च]। अखिलमिद—
30. [मुदाहृतञ्च] वु(बु)ध्वा [न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो] विलोप्याः॥[१०*] यावच्चन्द्रा-
र्द्धमौलेः[ः] शिरसि शशिकला¹⁴—

8. *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

9. The reading is very much doubtful as the plate is badly damaged here.

10. This seems to have been intended for Kuśika *gotra* which has three *pravaras*, viz., Viśvāmitra, Devarāta and Audala.

11. The reading is extremely doubtful due to the corroded nature of the plate. B. Misra reads the last numerical symbol as 7 which looks more like 4. S.N. Rajaguru reads the date as सम्बत् ३ चैत्र सुदि - - - -

12. Read स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा

13. Read हरेत

14. The reverse side is completely damaged due to corrosion. It seems to have contained a few lines recording the specification of the boundaries of the gift village as well as the names of the royal officers associated with the grant, as found in the Hindol plate (No.8) of the same king.

Abstract of Contents

The charter, after the word *svasti*, records a verse describing the victorious city of *Guhadevapāṭaka*, the name of which is mentioned in a short prose passage following the verse. The next verse and the following one (verses 2 and 3) state that when the kings of the Bhauma family such as Lakṣmīkara and others had gone to heaven, there flourished in that family, a king named Śubhākara who was endowed with the title of *Paramasaugata*, whose glory pervaded the three worlds and was never impaired by his adversaries. He has been praised as the best of men. Verses 4 and 5 describe his son Śāntikara. Then follows a passage in prose from line 9-15, describing his son, the reigning king Śubhākaradeva, born of his (Śāntikara's) queen Tribhuvanamahādevī of the Nāgodbhava family. He has been endowed with the royal titles of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*. Lines 15-19 record the royal order relating to the grant, addressed to the present and future *Mahāsāmantas*, *Mahārājas*, *Rājaputra*, *Antaraṅgas*, *Kumārāmātyas*, *Uparikas*, *Viṣayapatis*, *Tadāniyuktakas*, *Dāṇḍapāśikas*, *Sthānāntarikas* and other royal favourites like the *cāṭas*, *bhaṭas* and *vallabha* categories of Koṅgoda-maṇḍala, situated in Dakṣiṇa Tosali. The order is also stated to have been addressed to the officers of the district (*viṣaya*) of Jayakaṭaka, such as the *Mahāmahattara*, *Bṛhadbhogin*, *Pustakapāla*, *Kuṭakola* and their *adhikaraṇas* or assistants. Lines 19-25 record the grant of the village named Gujjaṭā, situated in the said *viṣaya*, along with the right to collect additional taxes (*uparikara*), right over the space above the ground (*uddeśa*), right over the weavers, herdsmen, distillers and other artisans of the said village and along with the landing places, ferries and outposts, in favour of the Brāhmaṇas named *Bhaṭṭa* Nārāyaṇadevakaṇṭha and *Bhaṭṭa* Lumbādevamitra, belonging respectively to Maṅgalya *gotra*(?), Aṅgīrasa *pravara*, Aurva and Śāvarṇa *anupravaras* and Kauśika (or Kuśika) *gotra*, Viśvāmitra *pravara* and Devarāta and Audala *anupravaras*. The grant is stated to have been made free from taxes, according to the established principle of *akṣaya-nīvī*, and according to the custom of *bhūmi-chidra-pidhāna-nyāya*, and made permanent as long as the moon, the sun and the earth would endure. The objective of the grant is stated to accrue religious merit for the king, his parents and all other creatures. Line 25 records the date of the grant as the year 103(?), the 4th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Bhādrapada. Lines 25-30 deal with five of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses followed by the fragmentary verse apparently in praise of the grant made by the reigning king.

No. 10

Talcher Plate of Śubhākara; Year 141

<i>Provenance</i>	: Jagati near Talcher, Dhenkanal District.
<i>Reference</i>	: B. Misra, <i>OUBK</i> , 32-39 and plate.
<i>Language</i>	: Sanskrit, partly in verse and partly in prose.
<i>Metres</i>	: Verses 1-3 <i>Vasantatilakā</i> ; vv. 4, 8-10 <i>Anuṣṭubh</i> ; vv. 5-6 <i>Śāradūlavikrīḍita</i> ; v. 7 <i>Indravajrā</i> ; v. 11 <i>Puṣpitāgrā</i> .
<i>Script</i>	: Eastern variety of North Indian alphabet of about 9th century A.D.
<i>Date</i>	: Year 141, the second day of the dark fortnight of the month of Bhadra.

Text¹

Obverse

1. सिद्धम्² स्वस्ति। समन्त³तो विरतप्रवृत्तविविधमखशि—
2. खिशिखानीराजनानिरस्तसमस्त⁴रितराशो [रणेव]⁵शेष दिगन्तरागतसे⁶—
3. सेवापरनृपतिसहस्रस[]कुलादतुलश्रीसमुदयोपहसितधनदधाम्नः श्रीगुहेश्व—
4. रपाटकनिवासिविजयस्कन्धावारात्। श्रीमाननेकनरनाथशिरोधृताज्ञः ख्यातोखि—
5. ले जगति शान्तिकराभिधानः[।*] आसीदशेषधरणीवलयावतन्से⁷ वङ्शे⁸ करक्षितिभृतां व—

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1. From the original. The plate is now preserved in the Baripada Museum, Mayurbhanj district.
 2. Expressed by a symbol.
 3. A space is left blank after न्त for affixing the seal.
 4. A space is left blank after the letter दु due to the affixed seal.
 5. Read रणेऽवशेष
 6. The last letter is redundant.
 7. Read तंस.
 8. Read वंशे.

6. सुधा[धि*]नाथः[॥*१] तस्मिन् गते सुरभुव[*] सुगृहीतनाम्नि नाथे तदीयतनुजो मनुजप्रभावः[*]
7. राजा व(ब)भूव सकलावनिपालमौलेर्म्मालाधृतः कुसुमभार⁹ इति प्रतीतः॥[२*] तस्मिन्(त्र)–
8. प्यखिलारिवर्गवनितावैधव्यद(दी)क्षागुरौ गोव्वाणेन्द्रनिभे नरे[न्द्र]वृषभे याते
9. यशः शेषतां[*] देवी शेषफणावलीय सकलक्षमापीठभारं हरेः
10. पादाम्भोजरजः पवित्रितशिरा माता तदीय दधे[॥*३] स्वधाममहिमप्राप्तभु–
11. वनतृ(त्रि)तयोन्नतिः[*] या जगत्सु श्रीतृ(त्रि)भुवनमहादेवीति विश्रुता॥[* ४] ध्वस्त[*]
12. म्वैरि¹⁰कुलं यशः प्रकटितं जाताः प्रजाः सुस्थिता भुक्ता श्रीर[तु]ला किम[न्य]दु–
13. चित[*] कार्य[*]मयास्मिन्निति[*] वोढुम्प्रौढ¹¹ इति स्वनप्तरि भरं श्रीलोणभारे भुवो
14. विन्यस्थातुलभक्तितुष्टमनसो भेजे पदं सा हरेः।[* ५] तेजोहव्य वहे–
15. हुताहितहविर्भूपालमौलिस्फुरच्चूडोच्चैर्मणिवेदिकाभि[वि*]लसत्पा–
16. दारविन्दं द्वयः।¹² तस्यार्थं वच¹³ शासनात्सवकृती[*] स्वीकृत्य [रा]ज्यश्रियं श्री–
17. मां(मान्) शान्तिकराह्वयेन भुवने भूपः प्रतीतङ्गतः¹⁴[॥*६] तस्मिश्च(ञ्च) सम्प(म्प्र)क्षालनप्र–
18. मोदितप्रजे निरवशेषितकर्तव्यजाते महामही(हि)म्नि परिवृढे सुरलोक–
19. मारूढे तदीयस्तनयो नयविनयसमुदयावर्जितसकलराजप्रकृ–
20. तौ प्रकृतिनिर्मलायामशेषेश्वरशिरोवहनोचितायां अमृतमयू–
21. खमूर्त्ताविव भुवनमाहलादयितुमवतीर्णया[*] महानुभावा[यां] महारा–
22. जाधिराजपरमेश्वर्या श्रीहीरामहादेव्यां लब्ध(ब्ध)जन्मा [भर]तभगद–
23. तभगीरथानामन्यतमावतार इवेतरधराधिराजासाधारण¹⁵प्रभावः
24. श्रीकुसुमभार¹⁶देवः प्रकृतिभद्रो भद्रासनमारूढवान्॥ यस्याभिषेको–

9. B. Misra reads हार but भार is clear in the original plate.

10. Read वैरि; the same verse is found in the Band grants of Tribhuvanamahādevi, year 158 (Nos. 13 and 14). The first part of the following verse is also found in the grants.

11. Read वोढुं प्रौढ.

12. Read न्द्वयम्, the punctuation mark is given before the visarga sign.

13. B. Misra suggests तस्यार्थं वच.

14. Read प्रतीतं गतः

15. B. Misra reads धराधिना[था*]नामसाधारण–

16. B. Misra reads हार

25. त्सवतूर्यघोषमाकर्ण्य मुक्तोद्वितय¹⁷ द्वयो(यि)भिः[*] श्रीभि[र्वि]पक्षक्षितिपा—
 26. लवक्षः कृत्स्न[*] महीमण्डलमी(मि)तिभिश्च॥[७*] दोषान्धकारान्तकरेण
 सम्यक्कर—
 27. क्रमानन्दित भूतलप्रसाधिताशीतमरीचिनेव सर्वा दिशः[*] शैशववचनेन¹⁸
 28. सकलशास्त्रार्थावबो(बो)धविविक्तचेताश्चतुरुदधिपर्यन्तधरणीधराधारणै—
 29. कधौरेयः स्वभुजवज्रोर्जित्यनिर्जितारातिव्रजो निजचरितवधूकृतादिराजयशः—
 30. प्रपञ्च॥ परममाहेश्वरो मातापितृपादानुध्यात[*] परमभट्टारको म—
 31. हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीश्रीश्री¹⁹ शुभाकरदेव [*] कुशली॥

Reverse

32. [दक्षि]णतोसलायाम्ब²⁰र्त्तमान²¹ भविष्यन्महासामन्त—
 33. राजपुत्रान्तरङ्गकुमारामात्योपरिकविषयपतितदायुक्तकदाण्ड—
 34. पाशिकानन्यानपि बहूभ²²जातीयान् मडेरविषये^{22a} महामहा(ह)त्तर—
 35. वृ(बृ)हद्भोगिकादिसाद्यधिकरणं यथार्ह[*] मानयति वो(बो)धयति समाज्ञापय²³—
 36. ति विदितमस्तु भवतां(ताम्) [ए*]तद्विषयप्रतिव(ब)द्ध[*] अङ्केन्द²⁴कोणाग्राम[*]
 स(सो)परि—
 37. कर[*] सोद्देश[*]सशौण्डिकादि प्रकृतिक[*] नदीतरस्थानादिगुल्मक[*]
 सर्वा(र्व्व)
 38. वा(बा)धाविवर्जितो[ऽ*]लेखनीप्रवेशतया भूमिच्छिद्रापिधानन्यायेनाचन्द्रा-
 कर्कक्षिति—
 39. समकालं मातापित्रोरात्मन[*] सर्व्वसत्त्वा(त्त्वा)नां च पुण्याभिवृद्धये कुलपु²⁵—
 40. त्रकसूर्यपालाय दामोदरपालसुताय वामनपालाय²⁶ नप्ते चतुः—
 41. सीमापर्यन्तः अस्माभिस्ताम्रशासनीकृत्याकरत्वेन प्रतिपादितस्त—

17. B. Misra reads भुक्तोद्वितयः

18. These four letters have not been properly formed. They read धचयेन.

19. B. Misra reads only one श्री.

20. The two letters ला and या look like the conjunct ल्या; read लायां व—

21. A space between मा and न has been left due to the affixed seal.

22. Read बल्लभ—

22a. B. Misra reads मनेरविषये

23. B. Misra reads the last letter य in the next line.

24.

25. B. Misra reads पु in the next line.

26. Read पालस्य

42. देशामस्मद्विर्द्धिर्द्धर्मगौरवात् प्रतिपालनीया॥ सम्बत् १००.४०.१ भाद्र व—
 43. दि २ [।*] उक्तञ्च धर्मशास्त्रे[।*] व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः[*] सगरादिभिः[*]
 यस्य य—
 44. स्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य [तस्य*]²⁷ तदा फलं(लम्)[॥*८] मा भूदफलशङ्का वः परदत्तेति
 पा—
 45. र्थिवा[।*] स्वदानात्फलमानन्त्यम्पर²⁸दत्तानुपालनात्²⁹[॥*९] स्वदत्ताम्परद—
 46. ताम्वा³⁰ यो हरेत वसुन्धरां(राम्)[।*] स विष्ठायां कृमिभूत्वा पितृभिः[*] सह
 प—
 47. च्यते।[।*१०] इति कमलदलाम्बु(म्बु)विन्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजी—
 48. वितं च सकलमिदमुदाहतं च बु(बु)ध्वा न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो वि—
 49. लोप्या[॥*११] इति॥

Abstract of Contents

The charter begins with a symbol for *siddham* and the word *svasti*, followed by a prose passage in lines 1-4 describing the charm of the victorious camp or the chief city of *Guheśvara pātaka* whence the chartar is stated to have been issued. Lines 4-6 contain a verse which states that there flourished a celebrated king named Śāntikara in the family of the Kara kings. This is followed by the second verse in lines 6-7 stating that after the departure of this king to heaven, his son named Kusumabhāra, the best among the kings, became the king. Verses 3 and 4 in lines 7-11 mention that when this king reached the end of his achievements, his mother named Tribhuvanamahādevī took up the burden of administration of the king, the glory of whose rule spread far abroad. Verse 5 in lines 11-14 describes her grandson Loṇabhāra who is said to have been bestowed the burden of the kingdom after the end of her rule. Verse 6 in lines 14-17 states that he came to be known in the world by the name Śāntikara and was glorious and powerful. Lines 17-24 contain a prose passage describing his son named Kusumabhāra who ascended the throne after his father went to heaven. He

27. A mark resembling the numeral for 2 has been inserted in this place, indicating perhaps omission of this word. B. Misra has overlooked this sign and reads तस्य, though it is not engraved in the plate.

28. Read न्त्यं पर—

29. Read पालने

30. Read स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा.

has been described as the final incarnation of Bharata, Bhagadatta and Bhagīratha and as to have born to *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Parameśvarī*, Śrī-Hīrāmahādevī. This is followed by a verse (v.7), in lines 24-26, and a prose passage in lines 26-30, describing the good qualities of this king, as the foremost protector of the earth, and who subdued countless foes with his own valour. Lines 30-31 describe this reigning king as Śubhākaradeva who has been endowed with the royal epithets of *Paramamāheśvara* and *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, a devotee at the feet of his parents. His name has been prefixed with Śrī thrice. Lines 32-42 contain a prose passage recording the order issued by the king, addressed to the present and future *Mahāsāmantas*, *Rājaputras*, *Antaraṅgas*, *Kumārāmātyas*, *Uparikas*, *Viṣayapatis*, *Tadāyuktakas*, *Dāṇḍapāśikas* and others who received royal favours, of Dakṣiṇa Tosālā (or Dakṣiṇa Tosali). The royal order was also addressed to the officials belonging to the *viṣaya* (district) of Maḍera, such as *Mahāmahattara*, *Brhadbhogin* etc., and their assistants. The order related to the grant of the village of Aḍḍhendakoṇā, situated in the said *viṣaya*, together with the *uparikara* (additional taxes), *uddeśa* (space above the ground), the distillers and other artisans, with the ferries, the outposts etc. The grant is stated to have been made according to the principle of *bhūmi-chidra-pidhāna-nyāya* and not to be subject of another document. It is said to have been made a permanent endowment with all the rights to enjoy the grant as long as the sun, the moon and the earth would endure, for accruing religious merit by the king and his parents. The grant is stated to have been issued by means of a copper-plate charter, in favour of *kulaputraka*, Sūryapāla the son of Dāmodarapāla and the grandson of Bāmanapāla, with the four boundaries. The charter records in line 42, the king's request that the grant made by him should be preserved out of respect to religion. The date of the grant is mentioned in line 42 as the *year 141, the second day of the dark fortnight of the month of Bhadra*. Lines 43-49 contain four of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses.

No. 11

Talcher Plate of Śivakaradeva; Year 149

Plate A

<i>Provenance</i>	: Jagati near Talcher, Dhenkanal District.
<i>Reference</i>	: B. Misra, <i>OUBK</i> , 40-45 and plate.
<i>Language</i>	: Sanskrit, partly in prose and partly in verse.
<i>Metres</i>	: Verses 1, 4, 6 and 9 <i>Śārdūlavikrīḍita</i> ; vv. 2, 3, 11 and 17 <i>Sragdharā</i> ; v.5 <i>Malini</i> ; v. 7 <i>Harīṇī</i> ; vv. 8 and 10 <i>Vasantatilakā</i> ; vv. 12-15 <i>Anuṣṭubh</i> ; v. 16 <i>Puṣpitāgrā</i> .
<i>Script</i>	: Eastern variety of North Indian alphabet of about 9th century A.D.
<i>Date</i>	: Year 149, the second day of the dark fortnight of the month of Pausa.

Text¹

Obverse

1. सिद्धम्²[१*] स्वस्त्युच्चशौ(सौ)धशिखरावलिविप्रकीर्णैरुत्सर्पिभिर्विविधरत्न-
मरीचिजालैः। भूभृत्प्रतापविजितामर—
2. राजदत्तैरिन्द्रायुधैरभिनवैरिव राजमानात्॥[१*] श्रीगुहेस्व(श्व)रपाटकनिवासिविजय-
स्कन्धाभा(वा)रात्॥ अभ्याला(लो)कविधायिनामनुदिनं
3. सम्व(संव)र्द्धमानश्रियाम्(यां)³ राज्ञां निर्म्मलमण्डलाग्रमहिमग्रस्तद्विषत्सम्पदाम्⁴
आक्रान्तातुलभूभृद(दु)च्चशि[२*]साम्पद्वाकरोल्लासिनान्दोषास्त(स)—
4. झविवज्जनैकविदुषाम्भा[स्व*]त्कराणां कुलः॥ [२*] आसीद्दोद्(र्द)र्षदासीकृतसकल-
रिपुः पा(पौ)रतुल्यः प्रतापी तस्मिन्वंशे क्षितीशः प्रथित—

-
1. From the original. The plate is now preserved in the Baripada Museum, in the district of Mayurbhanj.
 2. Expressed by a symbol.
 3. B. Misra reads श्रियां [१]; the punctuation is redundant.
 4. B. Misra reads सम्पदां

5. पृथुयशाः श्रीमदुन्मट्टसिंहः। आकर्णाकृष्टचापश्रु(सु)तनिशितशरासादघोरे रणे यः कन्यां राढाधिपस्य श्रियमिव विज—
6. योपार्जितामाजहारः(र)। [1*3] तस्माद्वैरिवधूकपोलविलसत्पत्राङ्कुराकर्षको राजा रंजितदिक्शुभाकर इति प्रख्यातनामाभ—
7. वत्। वंश(शे) येन कुभोजनैकरतिना निर्मूल्य पृथी(थ्वी)भृतां(तः) सन्दीप्य प्रकट-प्रतापदहनं कालिङ्गकाः साधिताः। [1*4] जितव(ब)लिनरपालप्रो—
8. त्रयन्मौलिमालाविलसदलिकुलालीचारुपादारविन्दः[1*] अभवदवनिनाथस्तस्य सूनम्म(र्म)हात्मा प्रथितपृथुयशो(शा) [सः] श्रीगयाडामृ—
9. तांशुः॥ [५*] प्रत्यग्रप्रतिवु(बु)द्धको(कै)रववनच्छायातिरस्कारिणा ख्यातः सद्यशसा भवन्नरपतिः श्रीसिंहकेतु[*] सुतः[1*] षाड्गुण(ण्य)स्य फलम्बि—
10. भज्य सुधिया[*] येन स्फुट[*] स्थापितं स्थानम्मित्रजने क्षयो रिपुकुले वृद्धिः सदैवात्मनि॥ [६*] निजकुलनभोनीहारा⁵ भाराशौ⁶—
11. वि⁷कीर्णयशोधने धनदसदृशि स्वर्गारूढे सुते[5*]र्थ(थ)सुतप्रिया[1*] प्रथितमहिमा⁸ तन्माताभून्नृपा(पो) नयशालिनी त्रिभुवन—
12. महादेवी शश्वन्निशक्तिकृतोदया॥ [७*] तस्या व(ब)भूव नतभूपतिमौलिरत्नरश्मि-च्छटाच्छुरितकाञ्चनपादसीमा।
13. वैकुण्ठतुल्यमहिमा नृपतिर्गयाडः कुण्ठेतरासिदलिताखिलवैरिकण्ठः॥ [८*] सत्य-त्यागपराक्रमैकनिलये क्षमा—
14. पालचूडामणौ देवे दैववशात्प्रकीर्णयशसि प्राप्ते यशः शेषताम्। राज्यन्त⁹त्तनयः शुभाकर इति प्राप¹⁰प्तर्थाथा(थ)—
15. ह्वयो दुर्वारारिशिरः सरोजदलनव्यापारलज्जोत्रतिः। [1*9] तस्मिन्दिवङ्गतवति क्षितिपे करीयान्भ्राता पद[*] शिवकर[*]
16. समलञ्चकार। दोर्दृष्टनिर्दलित¹¹वैरिवधूविलोलनेत्राम्बु(म्बु)शीकरनिराकृत-लोकतापः॥ [१०*] भूभाराक्रान्तिखेदा—
17. त्किमु भुजगपते[*] निर्गतस्याङ्गलक्ष्मीर्दु[*]खाच्चेः(च्चे)त्केतुपुच्छश्वसदुरगम-रुत्प्रेरिता वीचिमाला। विन्ध्याद्रिस्पद्ध(र्द्ध)याहो

5. *Anusvāra* is redundant.

6. The last two letters are redundant to suit the metre.

7. B. Misra reads the first letter in the 10th line.

8. B. Misra overlooks these words.

9. Read राज्यं त—

10. The letter प is redundant.

11. B. Misra omits निर्दलित

18. हिमगिरिशिखरश्रेणिरेषाभ्युदीण्णा(ण्णा) शङ्कामिच्छेत्सुरेभ्यो दिवि दिशवि(ति)¹² यशः
कौमुदी यस्य राज्ञः। [।*११] अपि च। श्रीसिह(सिंह)मा—
19. नदुहितरि हीराभिधानायाम्महादेव्याङ्कु¹³मार इव लब्ध(ब्ध)जन्मा परममाहेश्वरो
मातापितृपादानुध्यातः परमभट्टा—
20. रको महाराजाधिराजः परमेश्वरः श्रीशिवकरदेवः कुशली॥ उत्तरतोसत्याम्ब¹⁴र्त्तमान-
भविष्यन्महासामन्तमहा—
21. राज[राज*]पुत्रान्तरङ्गकुमारामात्यौ परिकविषयपतितदायुक्तकदाण्डपाशिकः¹⁵
स्थानान्तरिकानन्यानपि राजप्रसादिन—
22. श्चाटभटवल्लभजातीयान्॥ (।) पूर्वराष्ट्रविषये महामहत्तरवृ(बृ)हद्भोगिपुस्तक-
पालकुटकोलसाद्यधिकरणं
23. यथा[हर्ह*] मानयति वो(बो)धयति समाज्ञापयति च¹⁶ विदितमस्तु भवताम्।
एतद्विषयसम्ब(म्ब)द्धं(द्धः) कल्लाणिग्राम[*]।¹⁷ सोपरिकरः सोद्देश[*]
24. सतन्त्र(न्तु)वायगोकुटशौण्डिकादिप्रकृतिकः सखेटघट(ट्ट)नदीतरस्थानादिगुल्मकः
सर्व्वपि(पी)डावजि(र्जि)तोऽलेखनीप्रवेशत—
25. या भु(भू)मिच्छिद्रापिधानन्यायेनां(ना)चन्द्रावर्कक्षितिसमकालं मातापित्रोरात्मनः
सर्व्वसत्त्वा(त्त्वा)नां च पुण्याभिवृद्धये॥¹⁸ राण—

Reverse

26. क्र(क)श्रीविनीततुङ्ग विज्ञप्त्या ग्रामा(मो) यते¹⁹ [।*] भागत्रय(ये) विभक्ता[त्*]तत्रैको
भागः श्रीअमुभट्टके[न*] स्वकारित वु(बु)द्धभट्टारकायतने प्रतिष्ठा—
27. पितस्य भगवतो वु(बु)द्धभट्टारक[स्य*] सततस्नपनगन्धपू(पु)ष्पधूपदीपनिवेद्य-
व(ब)लिचरुपूजादिप्रवर्तनाथ(र्थ) पादमूलस्य ग्रासाच्छादन—
28. परिकल्पनार्थं दशानां भिक्षुणासोपस्थापकयुक्ताना[*] चीवरपिण्डशयनासनग्लान
भैश(ष)ज्यार्थं²⁰ द्वितीयो भागः खण्ड—

12. B. Misra reads दिशि वि and corrects as दिशि च; the plate B (No. 12) reads दिशति.

13. Read देव्यां कु—

14. Read ल्यां व—

15. The *visarga* is superfluous.

16. B. Misra overlooks this letter.

17. The punctuation is superfluous.

18. The punctuation is superfluous.

19. Read दत्तो

20. The punctuation is superfluous.

29. स्फुटिताद्यभिसंस्कारार्थं॥²¹ तृतीयोपि भागो दानपतेः स्वसन्तानपरावर्तनार्थं॥²²
ताम्रशासनीकृत्याक्षयनीवीधर्मेणाकर—
30. त्वेन जयाश्रमविहारे प्रतिपादितस्तदेषाऽस्मद्वत्तिध(र्ध)र्मगौरवान्द्रवद्भिः परि-
पालनीया॥[*] सम्बत् १००.४०.९ पुष्य वदि २॥[*] उक्तञ्च
31. धर्मशास्त्रे। व(ब)हुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः। यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य
तस्य तदा फलं(लम्)॥[१२*] मा भूदफलशङ्का वः प—
32. रदतेति पार्थिवा(वाः)। स्वदानात्फलमानन्त्यं परदत्तानुपालने॥[१३*] स्वदत्ता-
म्परदत्ताम्वा²³ यो हरेत वसुन्धराम्। स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भू—
33. त्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते॥[१४*] व(ब)हुनात्र किमुक्तेन संक्षेपादिदमुच्यते।
स्वल्पमायुश्चला भोगा धम्मो(म्मो) लोकद्वय क्षमः॥[१५*] इ—
34. ति कमलदलाम्बु(म्बु) वि(बि)न्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च। अखिल-
मिदमुदाहृतञ्च वु(बु)द्ध्वा न हि पुरुषैः परकी—
35. र्तयो विलोप्याः॥[१६*] यावन्निहाररश्मिर्द्ध(र्ध)वलयति करैर्ल्लसद्विदिगन्तात्यावद्वा
सप्तसप्तति^{23a}विलासति गगनोदनुदौ—
36. चर्चापमाणः। द्योतन्ते यावदित्यः²⁴ कुमुदरुचिमुषश्चन्द्रदाराश्च तारास्त्रैलोक्य(क्या)-
कीर्णधाम्नः शिवकरनियतेः^{24a}
37. शासनन्तावदास्ताम्॥[१७*] दूतकोऽत्र महाक्षपटलाधिकृताराणकश्रीविचित्राढ्यः
लेखको महाक्षपटलिक—
38. भोगिदेवप्याकः तापितो पेडापालकदेवदेवेन²⁵ उत्कीर्णन्नटकार²⁶ रभषवर्द्धन्²⁷
रामवर्द्धने(न) पुत्रेणेति।
39. ग्रामस्य सि(सी)मा कथ्यते[*] पूर्वदिश्युत्तरपूर्वकोणे त्रिकटारभ्या दक्षिणाभिमुखं
वाल्मीकविटपेन²⁸ क्षेत्रा—
40. ल्पासर्पगत्या दूरङ्गत्वा जोटम्प्रविश्य जोटमुत्ति(त्ती)र्य पूर्वाल्पा वक्रातिवक्रेण दूरङ्गत्वा
कवक्षजोटम्प्र—

21. The punctuation is superfluous.

22. Plate B (No. 12) reads परंपरावर्तनार्थं; the punctuation is redundant.

23. Read स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा.

23a. Read सप्तसप्ति—

24. Plate B (No. 12) reads यावदेताः

24a. Read नृपतेः

25. B. Misra reads the name as कयेवदेव.

26. The intended reading is उत्कीर्णं तट्टकारेण

27. Read रभषवर्द्धनेन; the plate B (No. 12) reads रहषवर्द्धन

28. B. Misra reads वक्रातिवक्रेण in plate of this.

41. विशय पूर्वदक्षिणकोणे अर्द्धस्रोतो यावत् ततो दक्षिणपश्चिमाभिमुखं स्तोकङ्गत्वा तज्जोटमुती(ती)र्य गो—
42. हेरोमभ्य²⁹अन्तरि(री)कृत्य वक्रातिवक्रेण दूरङ्गत्वा मृगजानुना किञ्चित् गर्तिका पूर्वाली यावत् तत(तो) पा(प)—
43. शिचमदिश्युत्तराभिमुखं दूरङ्गत्वा किञ्चित् पश्चि[मं*] वलित्वा चिताचिरा³⁰ कोणे वक्रातिवक्रेण दूर[र*]ङ्गत्वा दक्षिणं वलि—
44. त्वा स्तोकङ्गत्वा तैलीखातकोणेन³¹ सर्पगत्या दूरङ्गत्वा दक्षिणमुखेन दूरङ्गत्वा पश्चिमे(मो)त्तरकोणे त्रिकटा—
45. यावत्। तता(तो) उत्तरदिशि पूर्वाभिमुखं वक्रातिवक्रेण दूरङ्गत्वा उत्तराभिमुखेन स्तोकङ्गत्वा मृगजानु—
46. ना दूरङ्गत्वा वाघगर्तिका अर्द्धेन स्तोकङ्गत्वा सर्पगत्या स्तोकङ्गत्वा माषनदी[*] प्रविम्य(श्य) प्रथमसंसूचि³²—
47. तसीमा यावत्।

Abstract of Contents

The charter opens with the symbol for *siddham* and the word *svasti*. Then a verse follows describing the charm of the locality or the chief city, the name of which has been mentioned in a prose passage, as *Guheśvarapāṭaka*, the victorious camp. Verse 2 describes the illustrious family of the Kara kings. Verse 3 records that in this family flourished the famous king named Unmaṭṭasimha who was famous for his great glory and said to have forcibly taken away the daughter of the king of Rāḍha, described as the latter's kingly fortune. Verse 4 describes Śubhākara as the son of Unmaṭṭasimha, who is said to have extirpated the rulers of the earth and subjugated the Kalingas. Verse 5 describes his son Gayāḍa who was renowned for his great fame. Verse 6 describes the achievements of his son Simhaketu. Verse 7 speaks of his mother Tribhuvanamahādevī who is said to have ascended throne after his son's death. Verse 8 describes her grandson Gayāḍa (II). Verse 9 describes Gayāḍa (II)'s son Śubhākara who inherited the kingdom after his father's death. Verse 10 mentions that when this king

29. The letter अ is superfluous. The expression गोहेरि or गोहिरि or गोहिर indicating paddy field is still used in Oriya language.

30. B. Misra reads वित्तविरा, but the letter च is clear in the original plate.

31. B. Misra reads तैलखातकोणे.

32. B. Misra reads संसवि—

went to heaven, his younger brother Śivakara adorned the throne. Verse 11 describes the valour of this king. This verse is followed by a prose passage recording the grant made by the reigning king Śivakara who has been described in lines 18-19 as the Kumāra (Kārttikeya)-like son of Hirāmahādevī, the daughter of Simhamāna. He has been endowed with the royal titles (in lines 19-20), such as *Paramamāheśvara*, *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara* and is described as a devotee at the feet of his parents. Lines 20-30 record that the royal order relating to the grant was addressed to the present and future *Mahāsāmantas*, *Mahārājas*, *Rājaputras*, *Antaraṅgas*, *Kumārāmātyas*, *Uparikas*, *Viṣayapatis*, *Tadāyuktakas*, *Dāṇdapāśikas*, *Sthānāntarikas* and others enjoying royal favours, including the *cāṭas* and *bhaṭas* living in Uttara Tosala (or Uttara Tosali), and again the royal officers such as *Mahāmahattara*, *Brhadbhagin*, *Pustakapāla*, *Kuṭakola* and their assistants living in the *viṣaya* (district) Pūrvarāṣṭra. The royal order states that the village named Kallāṇigrāma, situated in the said *viṣya* has been granted at the request of Rānaka Vinītatunga, according to the established principle of *bhūmi-chidrapidhāna-nyāya* and not to be a subject of another document. The grant is said to have been made a permanent endowment, free from all encroachments, and granted along with the *uparikara* (additional or unfixed taxes), and *uddeśa*, with the weavers, the herdsmen, the distillers and other artisans, with the hamlets, landing places, ferries and outposts etc. It is said to have been granted by the king for accruing religious merit for his parents and for himself. The gift village has been divided into three shares. One share is stated to have been allotted for providing perpetual offering of ablution, sandal paste, flowers, incense, lamp, *bali*, *caru* and oblation to lord Buddha, enshrined in the temple dedicated to Buddhabhaṭṭāraka and built by Amubhaṭṭaka. The allotment is also meant for the maintenance of the servitor of the monastery; for supplying the ten *bhikṣus* along with their attendants, with garments, bowls for offering oblation, bedsteads and medicines. The second share is intended for the repair of dilapidation of the temple and the third share is meant for the maintenance of the family of the *dānapati* or the person in charge of receiving the royal grant on behalf of the concerned religious establishment. The grant is said to have been executed by the reigning king at the monastery called Jayāśrama-vihāra, and made permanent, free from taxes, according to the maxim *akṣaya-nivi*. Line 30 records the date of the grant as the year 149, the second day of the dark fortnight of the month of Puṣya (*Pauṣa*). Lines 31-35 deal with five of the usual imprecatory

and benedictory verses which are followed by another verse, praying for the permanence of this charter issued by the reigning king *Śivakara*, as long as the sun, the moon and the stars exist. Lines 37-38 record the names of the officers associated with the execution of the charter. The *dūtaka* or the executor of the grant is named as *Śrī-Vicitrādhyā*, who has been designated as *Mahākṣapaṭalādhikṛta* and *Rāṇaka*. The writer of the document is *Devapyāka*, a *bhagin* and designated as the *Mahākṣapaṭalika*. The plate was heated for affixing the seal by *Devadeva*, designated as the *Peḍāpālaka* or the record-keeper. The plate has been engraved by the brazier (*Taṭṭhakāra*) *Rabhasavardhana*, son of *Rāmavardhana*. Lines 39-47 specify the boundaries of the gift village. Starting from the *trikaṭa* on the north-east corner, the boundary line runs like a serpent towards the plot of land having the tree with an ant-hill, then moving a certain distance, enters and crosses the *joṭa*, then proceeds a bit towards the east in a zigzag way for some distance, enters the *Kavakṣa-joṭa* and touches a point in the middle of its bed on the south-east. Then it proceeds towards the south-west for some distance and crosses the same *joṭa*, then keeping the village road (*goheri* or *gohira*) within the boundary line, proceeds in a zigzag way and for some distance like *mṛga-jānu* or the deer's leg and reaches the pit, a bit towards the eastern corner. Then it runs towards north-west for some distance and turns a little towards west by zigzag way on the direction of *Citācirā*, then proceeding for some distance towards south, reaches *Tailakhāta* and then proceeds to south like the movement of a serpent for some distance then on to the west proceeds up to the *trikaṭā* on the north-west. Then again it proceeds towards north and then towards east, for some distance in a zigzag way and then towards north for some distance like the *mṛga-jānu* it covers half of the pit called *Bāgha-garttikā* and then proceeding like the movement of a serpent it enters the river called *Māṣa-nadī* and then reaches up to the point whence it commenced first.

No. 12

Talcher Plate of Śivakaradeva; Year 149

Plate B

- Provenance* : Jagati near Talcher, Dhenkanal District.
Reference : B. Misra, *OUBK*, 51ff.
Language : Sanskrit, partly in prose and partly in verse.
Metres : Verses 1, 4, 6 and 9 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 2, 3, 11 and 17 *Sragdharā*; v. 5 *Mālini*; v. 7 *Harinī*; vv. 8 and 10 *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 12-15 *Anuṣṭubh*; v. 16 *Puṣpitāgrā*.
Script : Eastern variety of North Indian alphabet of about 9th century A.D.
Date : Year 149, the second day of the dark fortnight of the month of Pauṣa.

Text¹

Obverse

1. सिद्धम्²[१*] स्वस्त्युच्चशौ(सौ)धशिखरावलिप्रकीर्णैरुत्सर्पिभिर्विविधरत्न-
मरीचिजालैः। भूभृत्प्रतापविजितामरराजदत्तैरिन्द्रा-
2. युधैरभिनवैरिव राजमानात्॥[१*] श्रीगुहेश्वरपाटकनिवासिविजयस्कन्धा-
भा(वा)रात्॥ अभ्यालोकविवा(धा)यिनामनुदिनं सम्व(संव)र्द्धमानश्चि-
3. याम्(यां)। राज्ञान्नि³र्मलमण्डलाग्रमहिमग्रस्तद्विषत्सम्पदाम्॥(१) आक्रान्तातुल-
भूभृद(दु)च्चशिरसाम्पद्माकरोल्लासिनान्दोषासङ्गविव-
4. ज्ञनैकविदुषाम्भास्वत्कराणाङ्कुलः⁴।[१२*] आसीद्दोद्(र्द्ध)प्प(र्ष)दासीकृतसकलरिपुः

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1. From the original. The plate is now preserved in the Baripada Museum, in the district of Mayurbhanj. B. Misra has not given the reading of the text in his book.
 2. Expressed by a symbol.
 3. Plate A (No. 11) of the same king reads राज्ञां निर्मल-
 4. Plate A (No. 11) of the same king reads त्कराणां कुलः

- पा(पौ)रतुल्यः प्रतापो तस्मिन्वंशे क्षितीशः प्रथितपृथु—
5. यशाः श्रीमन्दुन्मट्टसिंह[ः।*] आकर्णाकृष्टचापश्रु(सु)तनिशितशरासादधोरे रणे यः कन्यान्या⁵राढाधिपस्य श्रियमिव विजयोपज्जिता—
 6. माजहार[ः*]॥ [३*] तस्माद्वैरिवधूकपोलविलसत्पत्राङ्कुराकर्षको राजारञ्जित-
दिक्छुभाकर इति प्रख्यातनामाभवत(त्)। वंश(शे) येन कुभोजनै—
 7. करतिना निर्मूल्य पृथ्वीभृता(तः) सं(स)न्दीप्य प्रकटप्रतापदहनङ्का (नं का)लिङ्गकाः
साधिताः॥ [४*] जितव(ब)लिनरपालप्रोन्नमन्मालि⁶मालाविल—
 8. सदलिकुलालीचारुपादारविन्दः। अभवदवनिनाथस्तश्य(स्य) [सूनु]र्महात्मा प्रथित-
पृथुयशो(शा) सः श्रीगा(ग)याडा(डो)मृता[*]शुः॥ [५*] प्रत्यग्रप्र—
 9. तिवु(बु)द्धकैरव[व*]नच्छायातिरस्कारिणा ख्यातः सद्यशसा[भव]न्नरपतिः
श्रीसिंहकेतु[*] सुतः। षाड्गुण्यस्य फलम्विभज्य सुधिया[*]
 10. येन स्फुटं स्थापितं स्थ(स्था)नम्मित्रजने क्षयो रिपुकुले वृद्धिः सदैवात्मनि॥ [६*]
निजकुलनभोनीहारा भाराशोविकीर्णयशोध—
 11. ने धनदसदृशि स्वर्ग(र्गा)रूढ(ढे) सुते[५*]र्थ(थ)सुतप्रिया। प्रथितमहिमा तन्माता-
भू[नृ]पा(पो) नयशालिनी त्रिभुवनमहादेवी शश्व—
 12. त्रि(त्रि)शक्तिकृतोदया॥ [७*] तस्या व(ब)भु(भू)वर्न(न)तभु(भू)पतिमौलिरत्नरश्मि-
च्छटाच्छुरितकाञ्चनपादसीठ(मा)[१*] वैकुण्ठतुल्यम—
 13. हिमा नृपतिर्गयाड[ः] कुण्ठेतरासिदलिताखिलवैरिकण्ठः॥ [८*] सत्या(त्य)त्याग-
पराक्रमैकनिलये क्षमापालचूडाम—
 14. गौ देवे दे(दै)ववशात्प्रकीर्णयशसि प्राप्ते यशःशेषताम्। राज्यन्त⁷त्तनयः शुभाकर
इति प्राप⁸प्तर्थाथह्वयो दु—
 15. व्वारारिशिरः सरोजदलनव्यापारलज्जोन्नतिः॥ [९*] तस्मिन्दिवङ्गतवति क्षितिपे
करीयान्भ्राता पदं शिवकरः स—
 16. मलंचकार[१*] दोर्दृष्टनिर्दलितवैरिवधूविलोलनेत्राम्बु(म्बु)शीकरनिराकृतलोक-
तापः। [१*१०] भु(भू)भाराक्रान्तिखेदात्किमु भुज—
 17. गप[तेः*] निर्गतस्याङ्गलक्ष्मीर्दु[*]खाच्चेः(च्चे)त्केतुपुच्छश्वसदुरगमरुत्प्रेरिता
वीचिमाला। [वि*]न्ध्याद्रिस्पृहयाहो हिमगिरिशि—
 18. खरश्रेणिरेषाभ्युदीण्णा(ण्णा) शङ्कामिच्छ(च्छे)त्सुरेभ्यो दिवि दिशति यशः कौमुदी
यस्य राज्ञः॥ [११*] अपि च। श्रीसि[*]हमानदुहि—

5. Plate A (No. 11) of the same king reads कन्यां राढा-

6. Plate A (No. 11) of the same king reads प्रोन्नयन्मौलिमाला-

7. Read राज्यं त-

8. प is redundant.

19. तरि हीराभिधानायाम्महादेव्याङ्कुमार इव लब्ध(ब्ध)जन्मा परममाहेश्वरो मातापितृ-
पादानुध्यातः परमभट्टारको महा—
20. राजाधिराजः परमेश्वरः श्रीशिवकरदेवः कुशली॥⁹ उत्तरतोसल्याम्ब(ल्यां व)र्त्तमान
भविष्यन्महासामन्तमहाराजरा—
21. जपुत्रान्तरङ्गकुमारामात्यौपरिकविषयपतितदायुक्तकदाड(ण्ड)पाशिकः¹⁰ स्थानान्त-
रिकानन्यानपि राजप्रसादि—
22. नश्चाटभटवह्ण(ल्ल)भजातीयाम्(न्)॥ (।) मध्यमखण्डविषयीय।¹¹ महामहत्तर-
वृ(बृ)हद्भोगिपुस्तकपालकुटकोलसाद्यधिकर—
23. णं यथाराहं¹² मानयति वो(बो)धयति समाज्ञापयति च विदितमस्तु भवताम्।
एतद्विषयसम्ब(म्ब)द्ध।¹³ कोरट्टिखण्डे सुरभिपुरग्रा¹⁴—
24. मः॥¹⁵ सोपरिकरः सोद्देशः सतन्त्र(न्तु)वायगोकुटशौण्डिकादिप्रकृतिकः सखेटघट-
नदीतरस्थानादिगुल्मकः सर्वपीडाव—
25. जिर्जितोऽलेखनीप्रवेशतया भु(भू)मिच्छि(छि)द्रापिधानन्यायेनाचन्द्रावर्कक्षितिसमकालं
मातापित्रोरात्मनः सर्वसत्त्वाना[*] च पुण्या—

Reverse

26. भिवृद्धये॥¹⁶ राणकश्रीविनीततुङ्गविज्ञप्त्या ग्रामा(मो) यते¹⁷[।*] भागत्रय(ये)
विभक्ता[त*]तत्रैको भागः श्रीअमुभट्टके[न*] स्वकारितवु(बु)द्धभटा(ट्टा)र—
27. कायतने प्रतिष्ठापितस्य भगवतो वु(बु)द्धभटा(ट्टा)र[कस्य*] सततस्नपनगन्धपुष्प-
धूपदीपनिवेद्यव(ब)लिचरुपूजादि प्रवर्त्तनार्थ[*] पा—
28. दमूलस्य ग्रासाच्छादनपरिकल्पनार्थ[*] दशानां भिक्षुणासोपस्थापकयुक्तानां
चीवरपिडप्रा(पा)त्रा(त्र)शयनासनग्लानभै—
29. श(ष)ज्यार्थ॥¹⁸ द्वितीयो भागः खण्डस्फुटिताद्यभिसंस्कारार्थ॥¹⁸ तृतीयोपि भागो

9. The punctuation is superfluous.

10. The *visarga* sign is superfluous.

11. The punctuation is superfluous.

12. Read यथार्ह

13. The punctuation is superfluous.

14. B. Misra reads सुरद्विपुर; the name of the *khandā* or division seems to be कोरण्ड which is again mentioned in line 45. The letter ट्टि has been doubtfully read.

15. The punctuation is superfluous.

16. The punctuation is superfluous.

17. Read दत्तो [।*]

18. The punctuation is superfluous.

- दानपतेः स्वसन्तानपरंपरावर्त(र्त)नार्थ॥¹⁹
30. ताम्रशासनीकृत्याक्ष[य*]नीविद्ध(ध)र्म(र्म)णाकरत्वेन जयाश्रमविहारे प्रतिपादितः स्तेदषा²⁰ऽस्मद्वृत्तिर्धर्मगौरवाद्भवद्भिः परि—
31. पालनीया॥ सम्बत् १००.४०.९ पुष्य वदि २ [।*] उक्तञ्च धर्मशास्त्रे । व(ब)हुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा
32. भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्)॥ [१२*] मा भूदफलशङ्का वः परदत्तेति पाथि(र्थि)वा[ः*] । स्वदाना[त्फ)लमानन्त्यं परदत्तानुपालने॥ [१३*] स्वदत्ता—
33. म्परदत्ताम्वा²¹ यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् । स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यतेः²²॥ [१४*] व(ब)हुनात्र किमुक्तेन संक्षेपादिदमुच्यते । स्वल्प—
34. मायुश्चला भोगा धर्मो लोकद्वयक्षमः॥ [१५*] इति कमलदलाम्बु(म्बु)विन्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च । अखि—
35. लमिदमुदाहृतञ्च वु(बु)द्धा न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः॥ [१६*] यावन्नि(न्नी)-हाररश्मिर्द्ध(र्ध)वलयति करैर्लसद्भि—
36. दिगन्तत्यावद्वा सप्तसप्तति(सप्ति)विलसति गगनोदनु[दौ]र्च्चापमाणः ।
37. राश्च तारास्त्रैलोक्याकीर्णधाम्नः शिवकरनिय(नृप)तेः श(शा)सनन्तावदा-स्ताम्॥ [१७*] दूतकोऽत्र महाक्षपटलाधिकृत
38. राणकश्रीविचित्राढ्यः लेखको महाक्षपटलिकभोगिदेवप्याकः तापितो पेडापालक-देवदेवेन
39. उत्कीर्णन्त(र्ण) त)ट्टकार रहषवर्द्धन²³ रामवर्द्धनने²⁴ पुत्रेणेति । ग्रामस्य सीमा लिख्यते[।*] पूर्वदिश्युत्तरपूर्वको—
40. णे तमला²⁵खण्डक्षेत्रसमीप(पे) नद्यर्द्धस्रोतसः(सा) समारभ्य दक्षिणाभिमुखं तान्नदीमू(मु)तीर्य देवलब्ध(ब्ध)²⁶—
41. जोटीम्प्रविश्यार्द्धस्रोतसा दूरङ्गत्वा सीमाजोटीम्प्रविश्यार्द्धस्रोतसां दूरङ्गत्वा वणभद्र²⁷पालक्षेत्र—

19. The punctuation is superfluous.

20. Read तस्तदेषा

21. Read स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा

22. The *visarga* sign is superfluous.

23. Read रहषवर्द्धनेन; the Plate A (No. 11) reads रभषवर्द्धन.

24. ने is superfluous.

25. B. Misra reads तमाल and सुमेइ for समीपे as the name of the river.

26. B. Misra reads देवलय.

27. Read बलभद्र, this name has been overlooked by B. Misra.

42. मभ्यन्तरीन्कृत्य स्तोकङ्गत्वा पुस्तरियापुरनसमीप(पे) नदीम्प्रविश्य पूर्वदक्षिणकोणे तन्नद्यर्द्धस्रोतो या—
43. वत्। ततो दक्षिणदिशि पश्चिमाभि[मु*]खं क²⁸ स्तोकङ्गत्वा गयाडपुरसमीपे-नार्द्धस्रोतसा दूरङ्गत्वा दक्षिण—
44. पश्चिमकोणे कल्याणपुरसमीप(पे) नदीम्प्रविश्य त्रिकटं यावत्। ततः पश्चिमदिश्यु-त्तराभिमुखं कतस्यै—
45. वार्द्धस्रोतसा स्तोकङ्गत्वा हस्तिनापू(पु)रीयक्षेत्रसमीपेनार्द्धस्रोतसा स्तोकङ्गत्वा कोरण्डीय²⁹क्षेत्रस—
46. मीपेनार्द्धस्रोतसा स्तोकङ्गत्वा शङ्खपुरीयसमि(मी)पेनार्द्धस्रोतसा दूरङ्गत्वा पश्चिमोत्तर-कोणे तन्नद्य—
47. र्द्धस्रोतो यावत्[।*] तत उत्तरदिशि पूर्वाभिमुख[*] कृतेन्नर्द्धस्रोतसा दूरङ्गत्वा जुणपङ्गासमीपेनार्द्धस्रोत—
48. सा स्तोकङ्गत्वा प्रथमसंसूचितसीमा यावत्।

Abstract of Contents

The text of the record up to line 20 is same as No. 11, Plate A, issued by Śivakaradeva of the Kara family. Lines 19-20 describe the reigning king Śivakaradeva as the Kumāra-like (Kārttikeya) son of Hīrāmahādevī, the daughter of Simhamāna. The reigning king has been endowed with the titles of *Paramamāheśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara* and described as devoted to the feet of his parents. He is stated in lines 20-31 to have issued order relating to the grant, addressed to the present and future *Mahāsāmantas*, *Mahārājas*, *Rājaputras*, *Antaraṅgas*, *Kumārāmātyas*, *Uparikas*, *Viṣayapatis*, *Tadāyuktakas*, *Dāṇḍapāśikas*, *Sthānāntarikas* and others enjoying royal favours, including the *cāṭas* and *bhaṭas* living in Uttara Tosali. The royal order is also stated to have been issued to the officers such as *Mahāmahattara*, *Bṛhadbhogin*, *Pustakapāla*, *Kuṭakola* and their assistants living in the district (*viṣaya*) of Madhyamakhaṇḍa. The royal order states that the village called Surabhipura situated in the division called *Koraṭṭi-khaṇḍa* has been granted by the reigning king at the request of *Rāṇaka* Vinītatunga, along with the *uparikara*

28. The letter is superfluous.

29. The name of this locality seems to be the same as mentioned in line 23 which formed the division in which the gift village Surabhipura is stated to have been situated.

(additional or unfixed taxes) and *uddeśa* (space above the ground); with the weavers, the herdsmen, the distillers and other artisans, with the hamlets, landing places, ferries and outposts etc., according to the established principle of *bhūmi-chidra-pidhāna-nyāya*, which would not be a subject of any other document. It is stated to have been made a permanent endowment, free from all obstructions, by the king in order to accrue religious merit for his parents and for himself. The gift village is said to have been divided into three shares. One share has been meant for providing perpetual offering of ablution, sandal paste, incense, flowers, perpetual lamp, *bali*, *caru* and oblation to lord Budha (Buddha-*bhaṭṭāraka*), enshrined in the monastery built by Amubhaṭṭaka and dedicated to Buddha-*bhaṭṭāraka*. The allotment is also said to have included provision for supply of garments, bowls for offering oblation, bedsteads and medicines to ten mendicants (*bhikṣus*) along with their attendants and also meant for the maintenance of the survivor of the monastery. The second share is stated to have been intended for the repair of the dilapidation of the monastery building and the third share is meant for the maintenance of the family of the *dānapati* or the person in charge of receiving the royal grant on behalf of the concerned religious establishment. The grant is said to have been executed by the king at the monastery named Jayāśrama-*vihāra*, by making it a permanent endowment according to the maxim *akṣaya-nīvi* and free from taxes. Line 31 records the date of the grant as the year, 149, the second day of the dark fortnight of the month of Puṣya (or Pauṣa). Lines 31-35 contain five of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses which are followed by another verse in lines 35-37, praying for the permanence of the charter issued by the reigning king Śivakara, as long as the sun, the moon and the stars would endure. Lines 37-39 record the names of the officers associated with the execution of the charter. The *dūtaka* or the executor of the grant is Vicitrāḍhya, designated as *Rāṇaka* and *Mahākṣapaṭalādhikṛta*. The writer of the document is Devapyaṅka, the *Mahākṣapaṭalika* and the *bhogin*. The plate was heated for affixing the seal by Devadeva, the *Peḍāpālaka* or the record keeper, and engraved by the *Taṭṭhakāra* or the brazier named Rahasavardhana, son of Rāmavardhana. Lines 39-48 specify the boundaries of the gift village. On the east, near the north-eastern corner of Tamalā-*khaṇḍa*, the boundary line starts from a point in the middle of the bed of the river, then proceeds towards south after crossing that river and enters the middle of the *joṭa* or the rivulet called Devalabdhā, then proceeding some distance, it enters the middle of the Sīmā-*joṭi*, then proceeding some

distance and keeping the plot of land of Balabhadrapāla inside the boundary it proceed some distance till it reaches the river near Pustariyāpura and proceeds up to the middle of the bed of that river towards south-eastern corner. Then on the south, the boundary line proceeds some distance towards the west up to the middle of the river near Gayāḍapura, then proceeding towards south-western corner, enters the river near Kalyāṇapura and reaches the *trikaṭa*. Then on the west, it proceeds some distance towards north up to the middle of the stream till it reaches middle of the stream near the plot of land belonging to Hastināpura. Then it proceeds for some distance in the middle of the stream near the land belonging to the village Koraṇḍi, then after some distance it enters the middle stream near Śaṅkhapura, then proceeding for some distance towards north-western direction upto the middle stream of that river. Then on the north, keeping the line towards east on the middle stream, near Juṇapaṅgā, it proceeds for some distance and reaches the point whence it commenced first.

No. 13

Baud Grant of Tribhuvanamahādevī; Year 158

Plate A

<i>Provenance</i>	: Baud, Baud-Khandmal District.
<i>Reference</i>	: S.C. De, <i>EI</i> , XXIX, 210ff and plate.
<i>Language</i>	: Sanskrit, partly in verse and partly in prose.
<i>Metres</i>	: Verses 1, 6, 7 <i>Śārdūlavikrīḍita</i> ; vv. 2, 23 <i>Sragdharā</i> ; v. 3 <i>Vamśasthavila</i> ; vv. 4-5 <i>Vasantatilakā</i> ; v. 8 <i>Drutavilambita</i> ; v. 9 <i>Śikharinī</i> ; vv. 10-16, 18-27 <i>Anuṣṭubh</i> ; v. 17 <i>Malini</i> ; v. 22 <i>Puṣpitāgrā</i> .
<i>Script</i>	: Eastern variety of North Indian alphabet of about 9th century A.D.
<i>Date</i>	: Year 158, the 7th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Kārttika.

Text¹

Obverse

1. सिद्धम्^२[१*] स्वस्त्याशाजयसाधिताखिलनृपप्रस्थापितैः सर्वतः संसर्पद्भिरितस्ततो-
ऽपरिमितैर्द्धातूज्ज्वलैः पी—
2. लुभिः। गत्वा जङ्गमतां समस्ततनुभिः सेवार्थमभ्यागतैर्भूभृन्नामभयादिव क्षितिधरैः
संकीर्यमाणान्तरात्॥ [१*]
3. श्रीगुहेश्वरपाटकनिवासिजयस्यन्धावारात्॥ आसीद्वंशे कराणां(णा)मकलितमहिमा-
ऽनल्पसत्त्व(त्त्व): प्रतापी^३
4. [भूभृ]त्तुङ्गोत्तमाङ्गाक्रमणकृतरतिः श्रीमदुन्मट्टसिंहः। राजा लब्धो(ब्धो)र्जितश्रीः
स्फुरदसिनखरोत्खातमाद्यद्विपक्ष—
5. क्षमाभृन्मातङ्गकुम्भोच्छलदमलयशोमौक्तिकालंकृताशः॥ [२*] सुतोत्तमस्तस्य

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1. From the original and facsimile in *EI*, XXIX, between pages 216 and 217.
The plate is now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar.
 2. Expressed by a symbol.
 3. The punctuation, is superfluous.

- समाश्रय[:*] श्रियः प्रशासदुर्वी शुशु—
6. भे शुभाकरः[1*] कलेरलंघ्यं सुकृताश्रयाय यो विहारमुच्चैर्विदधे शिला-
मयं(यम्)॥[३*] तस्यात्मजः कमलभूरिव राजहंसं(स)—
7. सेव्यो गयाड इति भूमिपतिर्व्व(र्व्व)भूव॥(1) यस्याभियोगमधिगम्य गलन्मदानां नेमुः
शिरांसि न धनूंषि विरोधभाजां(जाम्)॥[४*] तस्मा—
8. त्रिवर्गफलसम्पदवाप्तिहेतुरासीन्नृपः कुसुमभार⁴ इति प्रतीतः। तस्मिन्नजाततनुजन्मनि
कीर्त्तिशेषे गोस्वामि—
9. नी चिरमुवाह धुरन्धरायाः॥[५*] ध्वस्तं वैरिकुलं यशः प्रकटितं जाताः प्रजाः सुस्थिता
भू(भु)क्ता श्रीरतुला किमन्यदुचित का—
10. र्य मयास्मिन्निति। वोढुं प्रोढ इति स्वनप्तरि भरं श्रीलोणभारे भुवो विन्यस्यातुलभक्ति-
तुष्टमनसो भेजे पदं सा
11. हरे॥[६*]⁵ तेजो हव्यवहे हुताहितहविर्भूपालमौलिस्फुरच्चूडोच्चैर्मणिवेदिकाहित-
लसत्पादारविन्दद्वयः॥(1)
12. तस्या एव निदेशतः स च कृती स्वीकृत्य राज्यश्रियं रेमे धर्मधनाविरोधसुभगै-
र्भौगैरनासक्तधीः[॥*७] अथ स राज—
13. शिरोवहनोचितं कुसुमहारमुदारफलोदयं(यम्)। सुतमवाप्त ततो ललितश्रियं
ललितहारमनङ्गमिवापरं(रम्)।[1*८]
14. जगदीपे तस्मिन्करकुलविकासैकवश(स)ताविने पद्माभोगप्रणयिनि गते सद्य
मरुतां(ताम्)॥(1) सुतौ तस्याधत्तां
15. क्रमकलितराज्योर्ज्जितपदौ भुवं भूभृच्चूडामणिकिरणशोणांहिकमलौ॥[१*] ततः
स्फारस्फुरद्भामध्वस्तारितिमि—
16. रौघयोः। वु(बु)धोदयकृतोरस्तसमस्तजनतापयोः॥[१०*] दैवादनाप्तप्रजयोः
प्रजानन्दविधायिनोः नरेन्द्रच—
17. न्द्रयोरस्तं क्रमेण गतयोस्तयोः॥[११*] सितांशुवंशनलिनश्रीविकासैकभास्वतः। राज्ञः
स्वभावतुङ्गस्य कोशलाधि—
18. पतेः सुता॥[१२*] सुतायां श्रीयशोवृद्धेर्यशोवृद्धिविधायिनी। श्रीमन्नृत्तामहादेव्या(यां)
कृतजन्मपरिग्रहा॥[१३*] श्रीमत्कुसु—

4. S.C. De reads हार, but भार is clear in the plate.

5. This verse and the first part of the following one are found in the Talcher plate of Śubhākara, year 141, (No. 10).

19. महारस्य महादेवी महर्द्धिका। पृथ्वीं पृथ्वीमहादेवी चिरकालमपालयत्॥ [१४*]
स्वधाममहिमप्राप्तभुवनत्रितयोन्नतिः।
20. या जगत्सु त्रिभुवनमहादेवीति विश्रुता॥ [१५*] उद्दामदेहसौन्दर्यजितश्रीरूपविभ्रमा।
विधि(धे)र्विधानवैदग्ध्यशिक्षासीमे—
21. व भाति या॥ [१६*] शशधरकरगौरोत्सर्पिकर्पूरधूलीपटलजलनिमज्जद्भूमिभृच्च-
क्रवाला। कलकलमुखराशास्थान—
22. वेला यदीया सुरसरिदव[त]रं नाटयन्ति(न्ती)व भाति॥ [१७*] परमवैष्णवी माता-
पितृपादानुध्याता परमभट्टारिका महाराजाधि—
23. राजपरमेश्वरी श्रीत्रिभुवनमहादेवी कुशलिनी॥⁶ उत्तरतोसलायां म्व(व)र्त्तमानभविष्य-
न्महासामन्तमहाराज—
24. राजपुत्रान्तरङ्गकुमारामात्यौपरिकविषयपतितदायुक्तकदाण्डपासि(शि)कस्थानान्त-
रिकानन्यानपि राजप्र—
25. सादिनश्चाटभट्ट(ट)वल्लभजातीयान्॥ दण्डभुक्तिमण्डले तमालखण्डविषयेपि
महांमहत्तरव(बृ)हद्भोगिपुस्तकपा—
26. लकुटकोलसाद्यधिकरणं यथाहिं(र्ह)न्मा(मा)नयति वो(बो)धयति सम(मा)ज्ञापयति
च। विदितमस्तु भवतांम्(ताम्) एतद्विषयस—
27. म्व(म्ब)द्धा(द्धः)॥⁷ चतुःसीमापर्यन्त[:*] नात्रेश्वरतलपाटकसहितः कोट्टपुराग्राम[:*]
सोपरिकरः सोद्देशः सत—
28. न्तुवायगोकुटशौण्डिकादिप्रकृतिकः सखेटघट्टनदीतरस्थानादिगुल्मकः सर्व्वपीडा-
वर्ज्जितोऽले—

Reverse

29. खनीप्रवेस(श)तया भूमिच्छिद्रापिधानन्यायेनाचन्द्राकर्क्षितिसमकालं महामण्डला-
धिपतिश्रीमङ्गलकलशस्य म—
30. हादेव्याः⁸ विराटवङ्शो(वंशो)द्भवब्रागडिकुलकुमुदशशिलेखायाः श्रीशशिलेखाया
विज्ञप्त्या स्वर्गीभूतनिजतात—
31. स्य श्रीनान्नाभिधानस्य धर्म्माय स्वकारितश्रीनात्रेश्वरनामायतने प्रतिष्ठापितस्य
भगवत उमामहेश्वरभट्टा—
32. रकस्य सततस्नपनगन्धपू(पु)ष्पदीपधूपनिवेद्यव(ब)लिचरुपूजादिप्रवर्त्ततार्थं खण्ड-
स्फुटितसंस्करणार्थं महाव्रतधारि—

6. The punctuation is superfluous.

7. The punctuation is superfluous.

8. The punctuation is superfluous.

33. णां तपस्विनां सत्रकौपीनोत्तरासङ्गलानभैषज्यार्थं पाटकसहितस्य ग्रामस्यैक भागः। एवं ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणानां ग्रासा—
34. छा(च्छा)दनार्थं द्वितीयो भागः। पादमु(मू)लादीनां जीवनभुक्तिपरिधानाद्यर्थं तृतीयो भागः। तथेतरश्चतुर्थो भागो दा—
35. नपतिस्वसन्तानपरंपरावर्तनार्थञ्चऽ(ञ्चा)स्माभिस्तां(स्ता)म्रशासनीकृत्याक्षयनीवी-धर्मेणाकरत्वेन प्रतिपादितस्तदेषाऽस्म—
36. दति⁹ धर्मगौरवाद्भवद्भिः परिपालनीया॥ सम्वत् १००.५०.८ कार्तिक शुदि ७। उक्तञ्च धर्मशो(शा)स्त्रे[।*] व(ब)हुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राज—
37. भिः सगरादिभिः। यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्)॥[१८*] मा भु(भू)दफलशङ्का वः परदत्ते(त्ते)ति पार्थिवाः स्वदानात्फ—
38. लमानन्त्यं परदत्ता(त्ता)नुपालने॥[१९*] स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ताम्वा¹⁰ यो हरेत वसुन्ध-रां(राम्)। स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह प—
39. च्यते।[।*२०] व(ब)हुनात्र किमुक्तेन स(सं)क्षेपादिदमुच्यते। स्वल्पमायुश्चला भोगा धर्मो लोकद्वयक्षमः॥[२१*] इति कमल—
40. दलाम्बु(म्बु)विन्दुलोलां शि(श्रि)यमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च। अखिलमिदमुदा-हतञ्च वु(बु)द्ध्वा [न]हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो वि—
41. लोप्याः॥[२२*] यावन्मौलीन्दुलेखोज्ज्वलितसुरसरिद्वीचिहारावलीभिर्भस्मस्मेरां स्मरारेर्द्धवलयतितरामंशुभिः का—
42. यकान्तिं(न्तिम्)। आसा(शा)चक्रैकचूडामणिरपि तरणिर्द्योतते यावदुच्चैर्देव्याः श्रीसिन्दगौर्याः प्रभवतु भू(भु)वने शासनं ताव—
43. देतत्॥[२३*] दूतकोत्र महाक्षपटलाधिकृतराणकश्रीमल्लोकः। लेखको महाक्षपट-लिकभोगी स(श)क्रशे(से)नः। ता—
44. पितम्पे(म्पे)टकपालदेवदेवेने(न)। उत्कीर्णं तट्टकार¹¹ अमृतवर्द्धनेन इ(ई)श्वरवर्द्धन-पुत्रेणेति॥ ग्रामस्य सीमा
45. लिख्यते। पूर्वदिश्युत्तरपूर्वकोणादारभ्य दक्षिणाभिमुखं शाखोटक विटपेन स्तोकं गत्वा किञ्चित्पश्चिमाभि—
46. मुखं मृगजानुना वलित्वा गोहेर्या स्तोकं गत्वा पूर्वदक्षिणकोणे प्रोप्तशिलां यावत्। ततो दक्षिणदिशि प—
47. श्चिमाभिमुखं प्रगुणेन दूरं गत्वा वक्रेण दक्षिणाभिमुखं वलित्वा पुनः पश्चिमाभिमुखं

9. Read इति:

10. Read स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा

11. Read तट्टकारेण.

- न्यग्रोधवृक्षेण गत्वा शिला—
48. कुण्डजोटाद्धस्रोतसा सर्पगत्या गत्वा कोट्टपुराधारं प्रविश्य तज्जलार्द्धेन गत्वा दक्षिणपश्चिमकोणे प्रोप्त—
49. शिलां यावत्। ततः पश्चिमदिश्युत्तराभिमुखं शिलाखनिका प्रगुणेन शरक्षेपमात्रं गत्वा पश्चिमोत्तरकोणे प्रो—
50. प्तशिलां यावत्। तत उत्तरदिशि पूर्वाभिमुखं नरकाधारेण स्तोकं गत्वा वि(बि)ल्व-वृक्षेण वक्रातिवक्रेण गत्वा प्रथम—
51. संसूचितसीमां यावत्॥

Abstract of Contents

The record begins with a symbol for *siddham* and the word *svasti*. This is followed by a verse describing the charms of the city of *Guheśvarapātaka*, the name of which is given in a short passage in prose immediately after the verse. Verse 2 states that there flourished a powerful king named Unmaṭṭasiṃha in the family of Kara. The third verse describes his son named Śubhākara who is credited to have built many lofty *vihāras*. The fourth verse describes his son named Gayāḍa. The fifth verse states that this king was succeeded by Kusumabhāra and after him Gosvāminī ruled the kingdom by maintaining peace and prosperity. She is stated in the next verse (v. 6) to have made over the throne to her grandson Loṇabhāra. Verse 7-11 describe the Loṇabhāra's two sons Kusumabhāra and Lalitahāra who succeeded their father one after the other. But they died childless. Verses 12-17 introduce the reigning queen *Prṥhvīmahādevī*, stated to be the wife of Kusumabhāra (or Kusumabhāra), and the daughter of Svabhāvatuṅga of the Sitāṃśuvarṃśa, the king of Kośala. Her mother was Nṛttāmahādevī, the daughter of Yaśovṛddhi. *Prṥhvīmahādevī* is said to have been known to the world under the name *Tribhuvanamahādevī*. Then follows a passage in prose from lines 22-36 recording the details of the grant issued by the reigning queen *Tribhuvanamahādevī* who has been styled as *Paramavaiṣṇavī*, *Paramabhaṭṭārikā* and *Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvarī* and as devoted to her parents. She issued the order addressing the present and future administrators and officers of Uttara Tosalā, such as the *Mahāsamantas*, *Mahārājas*, *Rājaputras*, *Antaraṅgas*, *Kumārāmātyas*, *Uparikas*, *Viṣayapatis*, *Tadāyuktakas*, *Dāṇḍapāśikas*, *Sthānāntarikas* and other beneficiaries like *cāṭas*, *bhāṭas* and the *vallabha* categories. Then the passage continues to record that the royal order was also addressed to the

officials belonging to the district (*viṣaya*) of Tamālakhaṇḍa situated in Daṇḍabhukti-maṇḍala, such as *Mahāmahattara*, *Br̥hadbhogin*, *Pustakapāla*, *Kuṭakolasa* and their *adhikaraṇas* (assistants). The village called Koṭṭapurā together with another locality called Nānneśvara-*tala-pāṭaka*¹² situated in the said *viṣaya* was granted along with four boundaries and with the additional taxes, the space above the ground, with the subjects such as the *tantuvāya* (weaver), *gokuṭa* (milkman), *Śaundika* (vinter), etc., and with *gulmakas* (outposts) at the *kheṭa* (village or hamlet), *ghaṭṭa* (harbour) and *nadītaṭa-sthāna* (ferries), at the request of Śaśilekhā, the moon of the Vrāgaḍi family and born in the Virāṭa lineage and the queen of *Mahāmaṇḍalādhipati* Maṅgalakalaśa, in favour of the temple constructed by her and named Nānneśvara after her father Śrī-Nanna. The grant is stated to have been made permanent and free from all obstructions and according to the prevalent custom of *bhūmi-chidra-pidhāna-nyāya*. It is said to have been granted by reclaiming fallow land in the said localities, for accruing religious merit of the late father of Śaśilekhā. One share of the gift village along with the *pāṭaka* is said to have been granted for perpetual offering of ablution, sandal paste, *bali*, *caru* etc., to the deity Umā-Maheśvara, installed in the said temple, for repairs of the temple, for providing *satra*, garments and medicines etc. to the monks. The second share of the gift was meant for providing food and clothing to the Brāhmaṇas. The third share was for the food and clothing of the medicants or the *pādamūlas* and others. The fourth share of the gift was meant for the maintenance of the family of *Dānapati* or the Brāhmaṇa in charge of all functions connected with the said royal grant. The gift is stated to have been recorded in a copper-plate charter and made rent-free according to the custom that the gift would never in future have to be the subject of another document. Line 36 states the date of the grant as the *year 158, the 7th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Kārttika*. Then follow five of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses in lines 36-41, which are followed by another verse in lines 41-43, praying for the permanence of the grant issued by the reigning queen who has been called Sindagaurī. Lines 43-44 refer to the *dūtaka* or the executor of the grant named as Śrī-Malloka who has been designated as *Mahākṣapaṭalādhikṛta* and *Rāṇaka*. Śakrasena, the writer of the grant

12. The expression *tala-pāṭaka* would indicate that the hamlet or *pāṭaka* named Nānneśvara was divided into two parts, namely, upper and lower (*tala*) *pāṭakas* and the later was donated along with the above mentioned village of Koṭṭapurā.

has been designated as *Mahākṣapaṭalika* and a *Bhogin*. The plate is said to have been heated by the *Peṭakapāla* named Devadeva and engraved by the *Taṭṭhakāra* or brazier named Amṛtavardhana, the son of Īśvaravardhana. Lines 44-51 specify the boundaries of the gift village. On the east, commencing a little towards north-east up to the Śākhotaka tree and then a little towards the west going like a *Mṛgajānu* up to the village road (*gohiri*), then going a little towards south-east up to the planted stone. Then on the south, going towards west a little distance, and then by a zigzag way towards south and again towards west up to the Nyagrodha tree and towards a point in the middle of the bed of the *Silākuṇḍa-joṭa*, then proceeding like the movement of a serpent for some distance, would enter a stream, then going up to the middle of it towards the corner on the south-west up to the planted stone. Then the boundary line runs towards the north-west for some distance of arrow-throw up to the planted stone on the north-west. Then the boundary line runs towards east and then going a little up to the stream called Naraka, it reaches the first mentioned boundary line.

No. 14

Baud Grant of Tribhuvanamahādevī; Year 158

Plate B

<i>Provenance</i>	: Baud, Baud-Khandmal District.
<i>Reference</i>	: S.C. De, <i>El</i> , XXIX, 210ff.
<i>Language</i>	: Sanskrit, partly in prose and partly in verse.
<i>Metres</i>	: Verses 1, 6-7 <i>Śārdūlavikridita</i> ; vv. 2, 23 <i>Sragdharā</i> ; v. 3 <i>Vamśasthāvila</i> ; vv. 4-5 <i>Vasantatilakā</i> ; v. 8 <i>Drutavilambita</i> ; v. 9 <i>Śikharinī</i> ; vv. 10-16, 18-21, 23 <i>Anuṣṭubh</i> ; v. 17 <i>Mālini</i> ; v. 22 <i>Puṣpitāgrā</i> .
<i>Script</i>	: Eastern variety of North Indian alphabet of about 9th century A.D.
<i>Date</i>	: Year 158, the 7th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Kārttika.

Text¹

Obverse

1. सिद्धम्²[१*] स्वस्त्याशाजयसाधिताखिलनृपप्रस्थापितैः सर्वतः संसर्प्यद्भिरितस्ततो-
ऽपरिमितैर्द्धातूज्ज्वलैः पीलु-
2. भिः। गत्वा जङ्गमतां समस्ततनुभिः सेवार्थमभ्यागतैर्भूभृन्नामभयादिव क्षितिधरैः
संकीर्यमाणान्तरात्॥ [१*] श्रीगुहे-
3. श्वरपाटकनिवासिविजयस्कन्धावारात्॥ आसीद्वंशे कराणां(णा)मकलितमहिमाऽन-
ल्पसत्त्वः(त्त्वः) प्रतापी। भूभृत्तुङ्गोत्त-
4. माङ्गाक्रमणकृतरतिः श्रीमदुन्मट्टसिंहः। राजा लब्धो(ब्धो)र्ज्जितश्रीः स्फुरदसिन-
खरोत्खातमाद्यद्विपक्षक्षमाभृन्मात-
5. ङ्गकुभ्योच्छलदमलयशोमौक्तिकालंकृताशः[॥*२] सुतोत्तमस्तस्य समाश्रयः श्रियः
प्रशासदुर्व्वी सु(शु)शुभे शुभाकरः। कलेव(र)-

1. From the original. S.C. De has not given the complete text of the inscription. The plate is now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar.
2. Expressed by a symbol.

6. लंघ्यं सुकृताश्रयाय यो विहारमुच्चैर्विदधे शिलामयं(यम्)॥ [३*] तस्यात्मजः कमलभूरिव राजहंससेव्यो गयाड इति भूमिपतिर्व्व(र्ब्ब)–
7. भूव। यस्याभियोगमधिगम्य गलन्मदानां नेमुः शिरांसि न धनूंषि विरोधभा- जां(जाम्)॥ [४*] तस्माच्चिवर्गफलसम्पदवाप्तिहेतुरा–
8. सीनृ(नृ)पः कुसुमभार इति प्रतीतः। तस्मिन्नजाततनुजन्मनि कीर्त्तिशेषे गोस्वामिनी चिरमुवाह धूरन्धरायाः [॥*५] ध्वस्तं वैरिकुलं यशः प्र–
9. कटितं जाताः प्रजाः सुस्थिता भुक्ता श्रीरतुला किम^३न्यदुचितं कार्यं मयास्मिन्निति [१*] वोढुं प्रौढ इति स्वनप्तरि भरं श्रीलोणभा–
10. [रे]^४ भुवो विन्यस्यातुलभक्तितुष्टमनसो भेजे पदं सा हे(ह)रेः॥ [६*] तेजो हव्यवहे हुताहितहविर्भूपालमौलिस्फुरच्चू–
11. [डो]च्चैर्मणिवेदिकाहितलसत्पादारविन्दद्वयः। तस्या एव निदेशतः स च कृती स्वीकृत्य राज्यश्रियं रेमे धर्म–
12. धनाविरोधसुभगैर्भोगैरनासक्तधीः। [१*७] अथ स राजशिरोवहनोचितं कुसुमहार- मुदारफलोदयं(यम्)॥ (१) सुतमवाप्त
13. ततो ललितश्रियं ललितहारमनङ्गमिवापरं(रम्)॥ [८*] जगद्दीपे तस्मिन्करकुल- विकासैकवश(स)ताविने पद्मा^५भो–
14. गप्रणयिनि गते सद्य मरुतां(ताम्)॥ (१) सुतौ तस्याधत्तां क्रमकलितराज्योर्ज्जितपदौ भुवं भूभृच्चूडामणिकिरण^६–
15. शोणांहिकमलौ॥ [९*] ततः स्फारस्फुरद्धामध्वस्तारितिभिरौघयोः। वु(बु)धो^७दयकृतो- रस्तसमस्तजनता–
16. पयोः॥ [१०*] दैवादनाप्तप्रजयोः प्रजानन्दविधायिनोः। नरेन्द्रचन्द्रयोरस्तं क्रमेण गतयोस्तयोः॥ [११*] सितांशु–
17. वंशनलिनश्रीविकासैकभास्वतः। राज्ञः स्वभावतुङ्गस्य कोशलाधिपतेः सुता॥ [१२*] सुतायां श्रीयशो–
18. वृद्धेर्यशोवृद्धिविधायिनी। श्रीमन्नृतामहादेव्यां कृतजन्मपरिग्रहा॥ [१३*] श्रीमत्कुसुम-

3. म has not been formed properly and looks more like य.

4. This letter is slightly visible due to the affixed seal. This verse and the first part of the following verse are found in the Talcher plate of Śubhākara, year 141 (No. 10).

5. *Anusvāra* is superfluous.

6. There is an *anusvāra* like sign after ण which seems to have been an attempt by the scribe to write the next letter, but later on abandoned the idea due to want of space.

7. ध looks more like व.

हारस्य महादेवी

19. महर्द्धिका। पृथ्वीं पृथ्वीमहादेवी चिरकालमपालयत्॥ [१४*] स्वधाममहिमप्राप्तभुवन-
त्रितयोन्नतिः॥ (।) या
20. जगत्सु त्रिभुवनमहादेवीति विश्रुता॥ [१५*] उदामदेहसौन्दर्यजितश्रीरूपविभ्रमा।
विधि(धे)र्विधानवैदग्ध्यशि—
21. क्षासीमेव भाति या॥ [१६*] शशधरकरगौरोत्सर्पिकर्णधूलोपटलजलनिमज्जद्भूमि-
भृच्चक्रवाला। कलक—
22. लमुखराशास्थानवेला यदीया सुरसरिदवतारं नाटयन्तीव भाति॥ [१७*] परमवैष्णवी
मातापितृपादानुध्याता
23. परमभट्टारिका महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरी श्रीति(त्रि)भुवनमहादेवी कुशलिनी॥
उत्तरतोसलायां म्ब(व)र्त्त—
24. मानभविष्यन्महासामन्तमहाराजराजपुत्रान्तरङ्गकुमारामात्यौपरिकविषयपतितदा-
युक्तकदाण्डपा—
25. सि(शि)कस्थानान्तरिकानन्यानपि राजप्रसादिनश्चाटभट्ट(ट)वल्लभजातीयान्॥
दण्डभुक्तिमण्डले दक्षिणख—
26. ण्डविषयेपि महामहत्तरवृ(बृ)हद्भोगिपुस्तकपालकुटकोलसाद्यधिकरणं यथाहिं(हं)-
म्मा(मा)नयति वो(बो)—

Reverse

27. धयति समाज्ञा⁸पयति च। विदितमस्तु भवताम् एतद्विषय⁹सम्ब(म्ब)द्ध[:*]॥¹⁰
उत्थुकाखण्डक्षेत्रं सोपरिकरः सोदेशः
28. सतन्त्र(न्तु)वायगोकुटशौण्डिकादिप्रकृतिकः सखेटघट्टनदीतरस्थानादिगुल्मकः
सर्व्वपीडावर्जितोऽलेखनी—
29. प्रवेस(श)तया भूमिच्छिद्रापिधानन्यायेनाचन्द्रावर्कक्षितिसमकालं महामण्डलाधिपति-
श्रीमङ्गलकलश—
30. स्य महादेव्या।¹¹ विराटवड्शो(वंशो)द्भवव्रागडिकुलकुमुदशशिलेखायाः श्रीशशि-
लेखाया विज्ञप्ता स्व—
31. गर्गीभूतनिजतातस्य श्रीनान्नाभिधानस्य धर्म्माय स्वकारितश्रीनान्नेश्वरा(र)नामायतन(ने)
प्रतिष्ठापितस्य भग—

8. The medial ā has been shown as slanting strokes over the top of the letters म and ज्ञ.

9. A similar slanting stroke is seen over ष, but it may be taken as a cut mark.

10. The punctuation is superfluous.

11. The punctuation is superfluous.

32. वत उमामहेश्वरभट्टारकस्य सततस्नपनगन्धपुष्पदीपधूपनिवेद्यव(ब)लिचरुपूजादि-
प्रवर्तनार्थं खण्डस्फु-
33. टितसंस्करणार्थं महाव्रतधारिणां तपस्विनां सत्रकौपीनोत्तरासङ्गलानभैषज्यार्थं
पाटकसहितस्य
34. ग्रामस्यैको भागः। एवं ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणानां ग्रासाछा(च्छा)दनार्थं द्वितीयो भागः।
पादमूलादीनां ज्जी(जी)वनभुक्तिपरिधाना-
35. द्यर्थं तृतीयो भागः। तथेतरश्चतुर्थो भागो दानपतिस्वसन्तानपरंपरावर्तनार्थञ्चऽ(ञ्चा)-
स्माभिस्ताम्रशासनीकृ-
36. त्याक्षयनीवीधर्मेणाकरत्वेन प्रतिपादितस्तदेषाऽस्मद्वृत्ति[*] धर्मगौरववद्भवद्भिः
परिपालनीया॥ सम्वत् १००.५०.८
37. कार्तिक शुदि ७। उक्तञ्च धर्मशास्त्रे[*] व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः
सगरादिभिः। यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य
38. तस्य तदा फलं(लम्)॥ [१८*] मा भूदफलशङ्का वः परदत्तेति पार्थिवाः। स्वदाना-
त्फलमानन्त्यं परदत्तानुपालने॥ [१९*] स्व-
39. दत्ताम्परदत्ताम्वा¹² यो हरेत वसुन्धराम्। स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह
पच्यते। [१*२०] व(ब)हुनात्र किमुक्तेन स(सं)-
40. क्षेपादिदमुच्यते। स्वल्पमायुश्चला भोगा धर्मो लोकद्वयक्षमः॥ [२१*] इति कमल-
दलाम्बु(म्बु)विन्दुलोलां श्रिय-
41. मनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च। अखिलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च वु(बु)द्ध्वा न हि पुरुषैः
परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः॥ [२२*] यावन्मौली-
42. न्दुलेखोज्ज्वलितसुरसरिद्वीचिहारावलीभिर्भस्मस्मेरां स्मरो(रा)रेर्द्धवलयतितरामंशुभिः
कायकान्ति(न्तिम्)। आसा(शा)चक्रै-
43. कचूडामणिरपि तरणिर्द्योतते यावदुच्चैर्देव्याः श्रीसिन्दुगौर्याः प्रभवतु भुवने शासनं
तावदेतत्॥ [२३*] दूतकोत्र म-
44. हाक्षपटलाधिकृत राणकश्रीमल्लोकः। लेखको महाक्षपटलिकभोगी स(श)क्र-
शे(से)नः। तापितम्पेटकपाल-
45. देवदेवेन। उत्कीर्णं तठा(ठ)कारहरिवर्द्धनेन।¹³ रहसवर्द्धनपुत्रेणेति॥ खण्डक्षेत्रस्य
सीमा लिख्यते। पु(पू)र्व्वदिश्युत्तर-
46. पु(पू)र्व्वकोणादारभ्य दक्षिणाभिमुखं क्षेत्राल्या गत्वा गणेश्वरखातकपश्चिमाल्या गत्वा
वक्रातिवक्रेण दूरं गत्वा पू-

12. Read स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा

13. The punctuation is superfluous.

47. र्वदक्षिणकोणे प्रोप्तशिलां यावत्। ततो दक्षिणदिशि पश्चिमाभिमुखं क्षेत्राल्या स्तोकं गत्वा मृगजानुना शा—
48. खोटकविटपेन गत्वा दक्षिणपश्चिमकोणे गोहेरिकां यावत्। ततः पश्चिमदिश्यु-
त्तराभिमुखं गोहेर्या
49. प्रगुणेन दूरं गत्वा पश्चिमोत्तरकोणे प्रोप्तशिलां यावत्। ततः उत्तरदिशि पूर्वाभिमुखं
क्षेत्राल्या प्रगुणे—
50. न दूरं गत्वा प्रथमसंसु(सू)चित सीमां यावत्॥

Abstract of Contents

The text of this charter from lines 1-24 is same as the Baud Plate (A) of the same queen Tribhuvanamahādevī, who has been styled in lines 22-23 of this plate (B) as *Paramavaiṣṇavī*, *Paramabhṭārikā*, *Mahārājādhirāja-parameśvarī* and a devotee at the feet of her parents. She issued order addressing the present and future *Mahāsāmantas*, *Mahārājas*, *Rājaputras*, *Antaraṅgas*, *Kumārāmātyas*, *Uparikas*, *Viṣayapatis*, *Tadāyuktakas*, *Dāṇḍapāśikas*, *Sthānāntarikas* and other royal favourites, such as the *cāṭas*, *bhaṭas* and the *vallabha* categories of Uttara Tosalā (or Uttara Tosali). Lines 25-26 record that the royal order relating to the grant was also addressed to the *Mahāmahattara*, *Brhadbhogin*, *Pustakapāla*, *Kuṭakolasa* and their assistants, living in the *viṣaya* or district of Dakṣiṇakhaṇḍa, situated within Daṇḍabhukti-maṇḍala. Lines 27-36 record the grant of the land called *Utthukā-khaṇḍakṣetra* situated in the said *viṣaya*, by the reigning queen, *Tribhuvanamahādevī*, along with four boundaries and with the additional or unfixed taxes, the space above the ground, with the subjects, such as the weavers, herdsmen, vinters and with the outposts of the *kheṭa*, *ghaṭṭa* or the harbour and the ferry places. The grant is stated to have been made at the request of Śaśilekhā, the moon of the Vrāgaḍi family, and born in the Virāṭa lineage, the queen of *Mahāmaṇḍalādhipati Maṅgalakalaśa*, in favour of the temple constructed by her and named Nānneśvara after her father's name Śrī-Nanna. One part of the gift village along with the *pāṭaka* is said to have been meant for the offering of ablution to the deity named Umā-Maheśvara installed by her (Śaśilekhā) in the said temple, sandal-paste, flowers, lamp, incense, *bali*, *caru* etc., for worship, for repair of the dilapidation of the temple and for providing meals, loin-clothes, bedsteads and medicines to the monks called *mahā-vratadhārins*. The second share of the gift is stated to have been meant for providing food

and clothing to the Brāhmaṇas. The third share was for providing food and clothing to the *pādamūlas* (the mendicants) and others. The fourth share was meant for the maintenance of the family of *Dānapati* or the Brahmin in charge of the worship of the deities and all the functions associated with receiving the royal grant. The gift is stated to have been made a rent-free endowment according to the principle of *akṣaya-nīvi*. The record states the date of the grant in lines 36-37 as the *year 158, the 7th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Kārttika*. Lines 37-41 contain five of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. Then follows another verse, in lines 41-43, praying for the permanence of the charter issued by the reigning queen, named here as *Sindagaurī*. Lines 43-45 record the names of the royal officers associated with the issue of the grant. The *dūtaka* or the executor of the grant is named *Rāṇaka Śrīmalloka*, designated as *Mahākṣapaṭalādhikṛta*. The writer of the document is Śakrasena, designated as *Mahākṣapaṭalika* and the *bhogin*. The plate is stated to have been heated by Devadeva, designated *Peṭakapāla* and engraved by Harivardhana, son of Rahasavardhana, designated as *Tatṭhakāra* or the brazier. Lines 45-50 record the details of the boundaries of the gift village. On the east, commencing a little towards north-east then going a little towards south, the boundary line reaches the pit called *Gaṇeśvara-khātaka*, then going a little in a zigzag way towards west, turns towards south-eastern corner up to the planted stone. Then on the south, proceeding a little towards west like the *mṛga-jānu*, up to the tree called *Śākhoṭaka*, then towards south-western corner up to the *goherikā* (paddy field or village road). Then towards north-west, proceeding a little distance up to the paddy field, again towards the north-western corner up to the planted stone. Then on the north, proceeding towards east, a little distance on the demarcation line of the fields, meets the first mentioned boundary line.

No. 15

Dhenkanal Grant of Tribhuvanamahādevī; Year 160

- Provenance* : Bhimanagarigarh in the old Dhenkanal State, Dhenkanal District.
- Reference* : 1. H.P. Sastri, *JBORS*, II (1916), Part IV, 419-427 and plate.
2. B. Misra, *OUBK*, 23-31
- Language* : Sanskrit, partly in prose and partly in verse.
- Metres* : Verses 1. *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 2, 3 *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 4-7, 9 *Anuṣṭubh*; v. 8 *Puṣpitāgrā*.
- Script* : Eastern variety of North Indian alphabet of about 9th century A.D.
- Date* : Year 160, the 6th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Kārttika.

Text¹**Obverse**

1. सिद्धम्² स्वस्ति[*] व्योमविधुम्बि(म्बि)भिः³ स्थिरयशोराशिप्रतिस्पर्द्धिभिः सौधैल्लोल-
लामचामरचयैः पुण्यप्रवर्द्धैरिव⁴। व(ब)प्रे—
2. णापि सुवासितेन⁵ परिखालेखाब्धि(ब्धि)शेषत्विषा चातुर्वर्ण्यसुसंभृतादपि भृतः
श्वेतैकवर्णश्रियः॥ [१*] श्रीगुहेश्वरपाट—
3. काधिवासि[त*]⁶ विजयस्कन्धा(न्धा)वारात्॥ अत्युन्नतेषु समुपाश्रितनन्दनेषु⁷
शश्वद्विकाशितलसत्सुमनोगणेषु[*] क—

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1. From the facsimile in *JBORS*, II, Part iv. This charter is also known to scholars as 'Bhimanagarigarh Plate of Tribhuvanamahādevī.
 2. Expressed by a symbol.
 3. Sastri reads विचुम्बिभिः
 4. B. Misra reads प्रवर्द्धैरिव.
 5. Sastri reads सुधासितेन.
 6. B. Misra reads निवासि.
 7. The punctuation is superfluous.

4. ल्पद्भुमेष्विव वरीयकवाञ्छितार्थसम्पादनैकरसिकेषु महाफलेषु॥ [२*] पंचा(ज्वा)नने-
ष्विव सदा नखरोद्धतेषु
5. दुर्वारवैरिवरवारणदारणेषु। उन्मीलनैकनिरतेषु क्षतस्थितिनामुन्मट्टकेस(श)रिग-
याडपुरः सरेषु॥ [३*] शुचि-
6. गुणपक्षपातिषु राजहंसेष्वपि न मानसव्यसनिषु प्रथितपृथुदण्डविभवेषु पद्माकरेष्वपि
न चण्डकर-
7. प्रियेषु प्रसाधितस्वपरमण्ड[ल*]तया धर्मोपकारिणीक्षताशेषदेशकोशे(षे)षु क्रमेण
निरन्तरविरचितविवि-
8. धमठविहारप्रासादप्रव(ब)न्दैः(न्धैः) पुरन्दरपुरारोहणसोपानव(ब)न्दै(न्धै)रिव मण्डित-
महीमण्डलेष्वाखण्डलप्रभावेषु
9. महाराजेषु अतीतेषु⁸॥ जातेन⁹ चिराद्यशोमात्रावलम्बि(म्बि)नि करकुले विगलिततेज-
स्वितारकामम्ब(म्ब)रश्चि-
10. यमिव करेथविकलान्तर(रा)मिव च वसुन्धरामालोकचालोच्य च निजभुजवज्र-
चूर्णितसकलपरिपुकुलाचल-
11. स्य दक्षिणाशामुखतिलकस्य श्रीराजमल्लदेवस्य जगद्विजयोन्मीलिताकन्दलीव
सौन्दर्यकन्दस्य
12. सौजन्यमधुरसस्यन्दिनी¹⁰ कुसुममञ्जरीव विनयद्रुमस्य मूर्तिरिव महानुभावता(त)याः
कुलवसतिरि-
13. व कलानां सकलभूमण्डलाधिपस्य¹¹ पिशुनशुभलक्षणशतालंकृताकृतिः सुता
प्रणत-
14. नरनाथचूडामणिमरीचिचयचर्चितपादपीठेन हठकलितशत्रुसीमन्तिनीकेशपाश-
15. कुसुमवासितपाणिना चिन्तामणिनेव यथाभिलषितार्थप्रदानकृतार्थि(र्थी)कृतार्थि-
सार्थेन[।*]
16. सत्यानुरक्तया सरस्वत्या पवित्रितास्वपद्मापद्मेन पुरुषोत्तमेन करकुलकुमुदाकरेन्दु-
17. ना महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरेण श्रीललितहारदेवेन गृहीतपाणिपल्लवा देवि(वी) पुरापि
18. देव्या श्रीगोस्वामिन्या धर्मधनप्रधानया प्रजानुग्रहतश्चिरधारितैवेयं वसुन्धरा
तदधुनापि प्रसीद-
19. नाथेव सुचिरं धारयैनां क्रियतां लोकानुग्रहः स्वीक्रियताम्वा¹² प्रक्रमागता करराज्य-

8. B. Misra reads व्यतीतेषु.

9. B. Misra reads जाते च.

10. B. Misra reads क्षिती[व*]

11. B. Misra reads धिपत्य

12. Read तां वा

श्रीरितिसर—

20. भसमभिषेकमङ्गलप्रतिपादनोन्मुखेन महता महासामन्तचक्रेण निवेद्यमानः(ना) कात्यायिनीव सिं—
21. हासनमारूढा प्रौ[ढा*]नुरागावनतमा(म)हासामन्तमौलिलालितचरणकमला कमलाकरश्रीरिव प्र—
22. कृतिशुचिचरितचारुहस्तपरिवारा सुरसरणिरिवाविष्कृतगुरुधृ(ध्रु)वमित्रोदया मृगाङ्क-
लेखेव मृदु—
23. करानन्दितप्रजा लक्ष्मीरिवाक्षतकृतस्थितिः॥ परमवैष्णवी मातापितृपादनुध्याता
परमभट्टारिका
24. महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरी श्रीत्रिभुवनमहादेवी कुशलिनी॥¹³ तोसलायाम्ब(लायां
व)र्तमानभविष्यमहा—
25. सामन्तमहाराजराजपुत्रान्तरङ्गकुमारामात्योपरिकविषयपतितदायुक्तकदाण्ड-
पाशिकस्थाना—
26. न्तरिकानन्यानपि राजप्रसादिनश्चाटभटवल्लभजातीयान्॥ ओलाश्रमविषयेपि
महामहत्तरवृ(बृ)हद्भो—
27. गोपुस्तकपालकुटकोलसाद्यधिकरणं यथाहँ मानयति वो(बो)धयति समाज्ञापयति
च। विदितमस्तु¹⁴

Reverse

28. भवतां(ताम्)[!*] एतद्विषयसम्ब(म्ब)द्धः कोन्तस्यराग्राम[:*] सोपरिकरः सोद्देशः
सतन्त्र(न्तु)वायगोकुटशौण्डिकादि
29. प्रकृतिकः सखेटघट(ट्ट)नदीतरस्थानादिगुल्मक[:*] सर्व्वपीडावर्जितो[ऽ*]लेखनी-
प्रवेशतया भूमिच्छि—
30. द्रापिधानन्यायेनाचन्द्रार्कक्षितिसमकालं मातापित्रोरात्मनः सर्व्वसत्त्वानाञ्च पुण्य-
भिवृद्धये।¹⁵
31. भारद्वाजगोत्राय।¹⁵ आङ्गिरस।¹⁵ वा(बा)र्हस्पत्य।¹⁵ भारद्वाजप्रवराय।¹⁵ वाजसनेय
चरणाय।¹⁵ क(का)ण्वशा—
32. खाध्यायिने।¹⁵ वृष्टिकामनिमित्ताय।¹⁵ हस्तोदकेन भट्टजगद्धराय।¹⁵ अस्माभिस्ताम्र-
शासनीकृ—

13. A space for two letters after the punctuation appears to have been left blank in the photograph. The punctuation is redundant.

14. Sastri reads 26 lines of writing on the obverse of the plate, instead of 27 lines.

15. The punctuation is superfluous.

33. त्याक्षयनीविधर्मेणाकरत्व(त्वे)न प्रतिपादितस्तदेषाऽस्मद्वत्तिर्द्धर्मगौरवाद्भवद्भिः परिपालनीया। स—
34. म्वत् १००.६०¹⁶ कार्तिक शुदि ६[॥*] उक्तञ्च धर्मशास्त्रे[॥*] व(ब)हुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः। यस्य यस्य य—
35. दा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्)॥[४*] मा भूदफलशंका¹⁷ वः परदत्तेति पार्थिवः(वाः)[॥*] स्वदानात्फलमानन्त्यं पर—
36. दत्तानुपालने॥[५*] स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा¹⁸यो हरेत वसुन्धरां॥ (।) स विष्ठायाङ्क¹⁹-मिर्भूत्वा(त्वा) पितृभिः सह पच्यते[॥*६]
37. व(ब)हुनात्र किमुक्तेन संक्षेपादिदमुच्यते। स्वल्पमायुश्चला भोगा धर्मोलोकद्वयक्षमः॥[७*] इति क—
38. मलदलाम्बु(म्बु) विन्दुलोला(लां) श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च। अखिलमिदमुदाहृतं च वु(बु)ध्वा(द्ध्वा) न हि पुरु—
39. षैः²⁰ परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः॥[८*] यावन्मौली स्मरारेः सरति सुरसरिन्मालती स्रग्विलासा याव—
40. द्वेला विलोला चलति वसुमतीमेखलावारिराशेः[॥*] यावद्वा भान्ति तारागगनमणि-शिलाकुट्टि—
41. मैकोपहारा देव्याः श्रीसिन्दगौर्याः²¹ प्रभवतु भुवने शासनं तावदेतत्॥[९*] दूतकोत्र महाक्षपट—
42. लाधिकृतव(ब)लभद्रः²²। लेखको महाक्षपटलिकभोगी नागडदेवः। तापितं मलिनाम्बु(म्बु)वाह—
43. कवीरसेनेन। उत्कीर्ण(र्ण)नगकार हरिवर्द्धनेन²³। रभसवर्द्धनेन(र्द्धन)पुत्रेणेति॥ ग्रामश्य(स्य) सीमा लिख्य²⁴—

16. Sastri reads the numerals as 35 and B. Misra as 100.10(=110), but the symbols are very clearly shown as 100.60(=160), cf. G.H. Ojha, भारतीय प्राचीन लिपिमाला (Hindi), Plates, LXXIII and LXXIV; D.C. Sircar reads the second symbol doubtfully as 20, (EI, XXIX, 80 and note 6).

17. Read शङ्का.

18. Read तां वा

19. Read यां कृ-

20. Sastri reads परुषः

21. B. Misra reads सिद्धगौर्याः

22. Sastri reads महाक्षपटं। लाधिक्ष न- - carrying no meaning.

23. नगकार here denotes तट्टकार, a 'brazier'. The punctuation is superfluous.

24. The inscription abruptly ends here.

Abstract of Contents

The charter begins with the symbol for *siddham* and the word *svasti*. This is followed by a verse, describing the city, the name of which is given in a short passage in prose, immediately following the verse, as *Guheśvarapāṭaka*, referred to as the victorious *skandhāvāra*²⁵ of the reigning queen. The following two verses describe the achievements of the great kings of the family, such as Unmaṭṭakeśarin, Gayāḍa and others who had passed away. These verses are followed by a long passage in prose from lines 6-24 of which lines 6-9 continue praise of the achievements of the above rulers. Then the record mentions a king named Lalitahāra, endowed with the titles of *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*, who ascended the throne by subduing all the enemies by the valour of his own arms. He has been described as the moon to the lily-tank of the Kara family. He is said to have married the daughter of Rājamalladeva, who has been described as the frontal mark of southern region. Lines 17-24 introduce the reigning queen who married Lalitahāra and whose name is mentioned in line 24 as *Tribhuvanamahādevī*. She has been styled as *Gosvāminī*, *Parama-Vaiṣṇavī*, *Paramabhaṭṭārikā* and *Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvarī*, who acquired the throne of the Kara family by right of succession. She has been described as to have ascended the throne like the goddess *Kātyāyanī*, and whose lotus-like feet were kissed by the heads of the feudatory chiefs, bowed down with devoted loyalty. She is stated to have been anxious to see the quick celebration of coronation, in order to protect the fortune of the Kara kingdom and favour the subjects as *Gosvāminī*.²⁶ She had the *guru* or the preceptor named Dhruvamitra. She is stated to have delighted her subjects with light taxation. Lines 24-27 record the royal order issued by the queen and addressed to the present and future kings and officials of Tosalā such

25. *Guheśvarapāṭaka* or *Guhadevapāṭaka* has been described as *jayaskandhāvāra*, literally meaning an army camp, in all the copper-plate records of the Bhauma-Kara family known so far.

26. The epithet *Śrī-Gosvāminī* of the reigning queen seems to have been conferred out of respect for her old age. It seems also to be a Vaiṣṇavite epithet, as she was a devotee of Viṣṇu. The epithet *Gosvāmin* for a male devotee and *Gosvāminī* for a female devotee are usually found among the followers of Vaiṣṇavite faith. The passage in lines 17-21 seems also to indicate that *Tribhuvanamahādevī* whose epithet is recorded as *Gosvāminī* previously ruled the kingdom for some time before the accession of the rulers who succeeded her (or before her accession to the throne for the second time).

as *Mahāsāmantas*, *Mahārājas*, *Rājaputras*, *Antaraṅgas*, *Kumārāmātyas*, *Uparikas*, *Viṣayapatis*, *Tadāyuktakas*, *Dāṇḍapāsīkas*, *Sthānāntarikas* and others like *cāṭas*, *bhaṭas* and who received royal favour. The royal order is stated also to have been addressed to the officers belonging to the district (*viṣaya*) of Olāśrama, such as *Mahāmahattara*, *Bṛhadbhogin*, *Pustakapāla* and *Kuṭakola* with their assistants. Lines 28-33 record that the royal order relating to the grant of the village named Kontasyarā, situated in the above-mentioned district, was issued by the reigning queen, for the enhancement of merits of her parents, self and all other creatures and was to be continued as long as the sun, the moon and the earth would endure. The grant is stated to have been made along with the additional or unfixed taxes, the space above the ground, rights over the weavers, herdsmen, and other artisans and over the landing places, ferries, outposts etc., in favour of *Bhaṭṭa Jagaddhara*, belonging to *Bhāradvaja gotra*, *Āṅgīrasa*, *Bharadvāja* and *Bārhaspatya pravara*s. *Vājasaneyā carāṇa* and a student of *Kāṇva śākhā*. The record states that the grant was made with the libation of water for bringing down the rain. The grant is stated to have been issued, by means of a copper-plate charter, free from taxes, according to the principles of *akṣaya-nivi* and *bhūmi-chidra-pidhāna-nyāya*. Line 34 records the date of the grant as the year 160, the 6th day of the bright fortnight of the month of *Kārttika*. This is followed by five of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses in lines 34-39. Then the charter records another verse in lines 39-41 in praise of the grant made by the queen *Śrī-Sindagaurī* with the prayer for its permanence as long as the Ganges, the heavenly river, continues to flow, the tremulous shore of the sea encircling the earth and the stars adorning the sky like jewels would exist. Lines 41-43 record the names of the officers associated with the execution of the grant. *Balabhadra*, the *Mahākṣapaṭalādhikṛta*, acted as *dūtaka* or the executor of the grant. The writer of the charter named *Nāgaḍadeva* has been designated as the *bhogin* and *Mahākṣapaṭalika*. The charter is stated to have been heated for affixing the seal by *Vīrasena*, designated as *malin-āmbu-vāha* (the bearer of uncleaned water). The brazier named *Harivardhana*, the son of *Rabhasavardhana*, was the engraver of the charter. The record abruptly ends in line 43, at the beginning of the description of the boundaries of the gift village, without specification.

No. 16

Santiragrama Grant of Daṇḍimahādevī; Year 180

- Provenance* : Angul, Dhenkanal District.
Reference : 1. *ARIE* for 1949-50.
 2. D.C. Sircar, *EI*, XXIX, 79-89 and plate.
Language : Sanskrit, partly in verse, excepting the grant portion.
Metres : Verses 1-4, 14-15 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 5, 7-9, 13 *Vasantatilakā*; v. 6 *Mālinī*; vv. 10-12 *Anuṣṭubh*.
Script : Eastern variety of North Indian alphabet of about 10th century A.D.
Date : Year 180, a solar eclipse.

Text¹**Obverse**

1. सिद्धम्²[॥*] स्वस्ति व्यस्तजलाभ्रविभ्रमधरैः³ स्वे(श्वे)तातपत्रोत्करैरश्वीयश्रुती(ति)-
चामरैश्च हसितव्याकोशका—
2. शोदयैः॥ (।) उद्दामैर्मर्द(द)सौरभैश्च करिणामाक्षिप्तसप्तच्छदामोदैः सन्निहिता[*]
सदैव शरदार—
3. म्भश्रियं वि(बि)भ्रतः॥ [१*] श्रीगू(गु)हेश्वरपाटकनिवासिविजयस्कन्धावारात(त्)॥
सर्वाशापरिपूरणाभि(धि)—
4. करुचिर्यस्तापमस्तत्रयन्नानन्द[*] कृतवाञ्जनस्य मनसि प्राप्तप्रतिष्ठां(ष्ठं) चिरं(रम्)॥
(।) सददृष्टिप्रतिरोधि येन
5. च तमो निर्मूलमुन्मूलितं श्रीमानिन्दुरिवावनीपतिरभूदुन्मट्टसिंह(हा)ह्वयः॥[२*]
तद्वंशादभवन्ननिन्दितगुण(णा)

-
1. From the original. The charter is now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar.
 2. Expressed by a symbol.
 3. The Ganjam Plate A (No.17) of Daṇḍimahādevī reads हरैः; ध in the present grant looks like च having a top *mātrā*, inadvertently incised by the scribe.

6. मुक्तामयाः सन्तताः⁴ सद्दत्ता[*] सुखशीतलाः क्षितिभृतः श्रीमद्गयाडादयः[*] यान्नीत्वा हृदयप्र⁵—
7. तापशमने देवाङ्गनाभिः स्वयं कण्ठाश्लेष⁶सुखस्थितिप्रणयिनो हारावि(भि)रामाः कृताः॥[३*] तद्व—
8. शेभवदूर्जित[*] प्रति⁷वू(बु)धप्रीतः(तिः) प्रतीतोदयो देव[*] शत्रुवधूमू(मु)खेन्दू(न्दु)-तरणिः श्रीलोणभारो
9. नृपः॥ (१) यस्याक्रम्य गुरुप्रतापशिखिनः पृथ्वीभृतः प्रोद्धतां(तान्) दूरं सर्व्वदि-गन्तरेषू(षु) तरसा स्वै—
10. रं प्रसस(सुः) कराः॥ [४*] तस्यात्मजः प्रणतपार्थिवचक्रचूडानिव्या(व्या)जरोपित-पदश्चरितार्थनामा[*]
11. विस्तारिसो(सौ)रभगू(गु)णोदयपूरिताशस्तस्मादभूत्कुसू(सु)पभार इति क्षिति(ती)-शः॥ [५*] अभृ—
12. [त] ललितभारः क्षमाम्भ(भ)रं भूरितेजा त(स्त)दनू(नु) तदनू(नु)जन्मा व्यूढभोगी-न्द्रलीलः॥ (१) अनयदमलिमा—
13. नं प(य)द्यशः पूरमू(मु)च्चैरपि रिपू(पु)रमू(म)णीनामञ्जनोन्मिश्रमश्रु॥ [६*] तस्मिन्नृपे दिवमुपेयू(यु)षि तत्तनूज[*]
14. शास्तावनेरजनि शान्तिकर(रा)भिधानः॥ (१) येनोद्धृतेष्वखिलदू(दु)र्मदकण्ठ(ण्ट)-केषू(षु) रेमे यथासू(सु)खमपा—
15. स्तभिया जनेन॥ [७*] तस्य प्रशस्त⁸चरितार्जितभूरिकीर्त्तिर्विश्व[]भराविभू(भु)र-भूदकू(नु)जस्ततोपि। श्रेयोभिरेकपद—
16. मित्यखिलैः श्रु(श्रि)तात्मा यः श्रीशू(शु)भाकर इति प्रथितो यथार्थम्॥ [८*] तस्य त्रिविष्टपञ्जुषः⁹ परमेश्व—
17. [र*]स्य देवि(वी) समस्तजनतानतपादपद्मा॥ (१) सि(सिं)हासनं शशिकरामलकीर्त्ति-गौरी गौरीव गौरवपदं
18. चिरमध्यरोहत(त्)॥ [९*] ततो दण्डिमहादेवी सू(सु)ता तस्या महीयसी॥ (१) महीम-हीनसामर्थ्या चिरकालमपा—

4. Read सद्दत्ता as in other records of Daṇḍimahādevī.

5. The Ganjam plate A (No.17) has ये नीता हृदयोय ताप; the Kumurang plate (No.20) reads ये नीता.

6. The intended reading is कण्ठाश्लेष

7. Other grants of Daṇḍimahādevī and कृत-

8. Other grants of Daṇḍimahādevī read प्रशस्य-

9. Other grants of Daṇḍimahādevī and her successors read त्रिविष्टपञ्जुषः

19. लयत्॥ [१०*] अविच्छिन्नायतिप्रांशौ वंशे का(क)रमहीभृतां(ताम्)[।*] चिह्नभूता पताकेव या व(ब)भूव विभूषण[म्*]॥ [११*]¹⁰ लावण्यामृत—

Reverse

20. निष्यन्दसुन्दरं दधती वपः(पुः)[।*] या राजच्च[न्द्र*]लेखेव विलसत्कीर्ति-
चन्द्रिवा(का)¹¹॥ [१२*] तस्याः प्रतापनतदुर्मदशत्रुभूपने—
21. त्र(त्रा)म्बु(म्बु)धौतनवयावकमण्डनानि(पि)॥ (।) पादाम्बु(म्बु)जद्य(द्यु)तिरनन्तर-
मन्वरां(र)जि(ज्जि)मज्जिरलग्नकुर(रु)विन्ददला(लो)रु—
22. [भा*]सा॥ [१३*] उद्यानेषू(षु) शिलीमुखे(खा)वलिरवो हा[रे*]षू(षु) मुक्त(क्ता)स्थिति-
दोषासङ्गरुचिस्तुषारकिरणे चि(वि)[ज्ञे]षू(षु) सद्देषता॥ (।)
23. राहौ तीक्ष्ण(क्ष्ण)करग्रहं(हः) कू(कु)मणिषु त्रासोदयः केवलं कान्ताकुन्तलसत्र(न्त)तौ
कुट्टि(टि)लता यस्याः प्रभू(भु)[त्वे*] भुवि॥ [१४*] रम्यालो—
24. कोत्सुकितनयनानन्दपीयूषवर्तिः सेवासक्तक्षितिपतिसभापद्मिनी राजहंसी। काथ(ले)-
योष्मग्लपितसुकृ—
25. तालम्ब(म्ब)न¹²स्वर्णयष्टिर्या निःशेषप्रणयिसुमनोनन्दनोद्यानलक्ष्मी[:*]॥ [१५*]
परममाहेश्वरी मातापितृपादा—
26. नुध्याता परमभट्टारिका महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरी श्रीमद्दण्डिमहादेवी कू(कु)-
शलिनी॥¹³ दक्षिण—
27. तोसलायां वर्तमानभविष्यमहासामन्तराजसत्क¹⁴राजपुत्रकुमारामात्यौपरिकविषय-
पतितदा—
28. युक्तकदाण्डपाशिकस्थानान्तरिकानन्यानपि राजप्रसादिनश्चाटवल्लभजातीया-
नः(न्)॥¹⁵ तमुरविष¹⁶—

10. This verse is not found in the Ganjam grant B (No.18) of Daṇḍimahādevī.

11. The second part of this verse is not found in the Ganjam plate A (No.17) of Daṇḍimahādevī.

12. The letter न is incised below the line.

13. The *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

14. The term राजसत्क does not suit the context; it is usually taken to mean 'belonging to the king'.

15. The *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

16. The locality seems to be the same as Talamura-*viṣaya* mentioned in the Taltali grant (No.23) of Dharmamahādevī. The letter ल after त has been inadvertently omitted by the scribe. It has been identified with the present Talmul *śāsan* under Angul P.S. of the Dhenkanal district.

29. यं(य)पछ(श्च)मखण्डमहामहत्तरवृ(बृ)हद्भोगिपुस्तकपालकूटकोलसाद्याधिकरणं
यथार्हं मा—
30. नयति वो(बो)धयति समाज्ञापयति च विदितमस्तु भवत(ता)मेतत्खण्डप्रतिव(ब)द्ध
सन्ति¹⁷
31. सान्तीरग्रामः¹⁸ कोम्योसङ्गसमेतः सोद्देशः सतन्तुवायगोकूटशौण्ड(ण्ड)कादि-
प्रकृतिक[*] सखे—
32. टघट्टनदीतरस्थानादिगुल्मकः सर्व्वपीडावर्जितोऽलेखनीप्रवेशतया भ(भू)मिच्छिद्र(द्र)-
पिधानन्याये—
33. नाचन्द्रार्कक्षितिसमकालं मातापित्रारात्मनः सर्व्वसत्त्वा(त्त्वा)नाञ्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये
भारद्वाजगोत्रायाङ्गिरस—
34. वा(बा)र्हस्पत्यभारद्वाजप्रवराय वाजसनेयचरणाय माध्यन्दिनशाखाध्यायिने
टकारिविनी(नि)र्गत धर्म—
35. पाट्टिवास्तव्य भा(भ)ट्टमाकचदेवाय¹⁹ जाल्लदेवसुताय पू(पु)रुषोत्तमदेवनप्त्र(प्त्रे)
सलिल- धारापू(पु)रःसरहस्तोद—
36. केन सूर्यग्रहणं(ण)वेलाया[*] यमर्ग(ग)त्ता(र्त्ता)मण्डलाधिपति परममाहेश्वरसकल-
महापू(पु)रुषगुणवद्राणकश्रीभृदप्सरोदेवाभ्यर्थ—
37. नयाऽस्माभिस्ताग्रशासनीकृत्याक्षयनिधि²⁰ धर्मेणाकरत्वेन प्रदत्तस्तदेषाऽस्मा-
दत्तिद्ध(द्ध)र्मगौरवाद्भवद्भिः परिपालनि(नी)या। सम्बत् १००.²¹ ८०[॥*]

Abstract of Contents

The inscription begins with a symbol for *siddham* and the word *svasti*. This is followed by a verse describing the city of *Guheśvarapātaka*, the name of which is given in a short prose passage after the verse in line 3.

17. The scribe has left a blank space after this word which is repeated again in the next line.
18. Read ग्रामः; the village can be identified with the present locality of Gaḍasāntri, situated under Angul P.S. of the Dhenkanal district. The above Talmul-śāsan is a contiguous village to Gaḍasāntri. There is a village called Kumurusinga near Talmul which may tentatively be identified with Komyosaṅga.
19. The intended reading seems to be माणिकचदेवाय.
20. निवि is usually found in other grants of the dynasty.
21. The symbol for 100 looks like that of 200. The mistake is perhaps due to the confusion by the scribe, between the medial signs for *u* and *ū*, which is also frequently met with in the present record.

Verse 2 introduces the illustrious king of the family named Unmaṭṭasiṃha. Verse 3 describes the illustrious king Gayāḍa and others who were born in the family of Unmaṭṭasiṃha. A king named Loṇabhāra is mentioned in verse 4 to have been born in the family of Gayāḍa. Verses 5-6 describe his sons known as Kusumahāra and Lalitahāra. Verses 7 and 8 mention the two sons of Lalitahāra as Śāntikara and Śubhākara respectively. Verse 9 describes the queen of Śubhākara who ascended the throne after this king. She was named as Gaurīmahādevī and succeeded by her daughter Daṇḍimahādevī, the reigning queen, to the throne of the Kara family whose achievements and qualities have been described in verses 10-15. These verses are followed by a long prose passage in lines 25-37 recording the details of the grant made by the queen Daṇḍimahādevī who has been stated in lines 25-26 to have assumed the titles of *Paramamaheśvarī*, *Paramabhāṭṭārikā* and *Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvarī*. She is said to have granted the village called Sāntiragrāma together with another locality called Komyosaṅga situated in Pachama (Paścima)-*khaṇḍa* within the *viṣaya* or district of Ta[la*]mura in Dakṣiṇa Tosalā. The royal order relating to the grant was addressed to the present and future *Mahāsāmantas*, *Rājasatkas*, *Kumārāmātyas*, *Uparikas*, *Viṣayapatis*, *Tadāyuktakas*, *Dāṇḍapāśikas*, *Sthānāntarikas* and others associated with the administration of Dakṣiṇa Tosala. It was also addressed to the officials belonging to the above mentioned *viṣaya*, such as *Mahāmahattara*, *Br̥hadbhogin*, *Pustakapāla*, *Kuṭakolasa* and their assistants. The grant was made in favour of *Bhaṭṭa* Mākyadeva, the son of Jālladeva and grandson of Puruṣottamadeva, who belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gotra*, Aṅgirasa, Bārhaspatya and Bhāradvāja *pravaras*, Vājasaneyā *carāṇa* and was a student of the Mādhyandina *sākhā*. The donee is said to have hailed from Ṭakārī and a resident of Dharmapaṭṭi. The gift was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse at the request of *Rāṇaka* Apsarodeva, styled as *Paramamāheśvara*, who was the lord of Yamagartta-*maṇḍala*. The village is stated to have been granted together with the space above the ground (*uddeśa*), with the subjects such as the weavers, milkmen and vinters and with the outposts (*gulmakas*) at the *kheṭa* or the village or hamlet, *ghaṭṭa* (harbour) and ferry places. It is stated to have been granted according to the custom that the gift would never in future have to be the subject of another document reclaiming it as a fallow land. The date of the grant is mentioned in line 37 as the year 180.

No. 17

Ganjam Grant of Daṇḍimahādevī; Year 180

Plate A

<i>Provenance</i>	: Ganjam District.
<i>Reference</i>	: 1. F. Kielhorn, <i>EI</i> , VI, 133-140. 2. B. Misra, <i>OUBK</i> , 57-58.
<i>Language</i>	: Sanskrit, partly in prose and partly in verse.
<i>Metres</i>	: Verses 1-4 <i>Śārdūlavikrīḍita</i> ; vv. 5, 7-9 <i>Vasantatilakā</i> ; v. 6. <i>Mālinī</i> ; vv.10-15 <i>Anuṣṭubh</i> .
<i>Script</i>	: Eastern variety of North Indian alphabet of about the 10th century A.D.
<i>Date</i>	: Year 180, the 5th(?) day of the dark fortnight of the month of Mārgaśīra

Text¹

Obverse

1. सिद्धम्²[॥*] स्वस्ति[॥*] व्यस्तजलाभ्रविभ्रमहैः³ श्वेतात्प(तप)त्रोत्करैरवधीय⁴श्रुति-
चामरैश्च भ(ह)सितव्याकोशका—
2. शोदयैरुद्दामैर्म्मा(र्म)दसोरभैश्च करिणामाक्षिप्तसप्तत्स(च्छ)दामोदैः सन्निहितां सदैव
शर—
3. दारम्भश्रियम्बि(म्बि)भ्रतः॥ [१*] श्रीमद्गुहेश्वरपाट्ट(ट)कनिवासिविजयस्कन्धा-
वारात्॥ सर्वाशाप—
4. रिपूरणाधिकरुचिर्यस्तापमस्तन्नयन्नानन्दङ्कृतवान्ज(ञ्ज)नस्य मनसि प्राप्तम्प्रतिष्ठ-
ज्विरं(रम्)[॥*]
5. सद्दृष्टिप्रतिरोधि येन च तमो निर्मूलमू(मु)न्मूलितं श्रीमानिन्दुरिवावनीपतिर-
भूदुन्मट्ट—

-
1. From the facsimile in *EI*, VI, between pages 138 and 139.
 2. Expressed by a symbol.
 3. Other grants of Daṇḍimahādevī read धैः
 4. Read -रश्वीय-

6. सिद्धाह्वयः⁵ ॥ [२*] तद्वंशादभवन्ननिन्दितगुणा मुक्तामयाः सङ्गताः⁶ सदृताः सुख—
7. सी(शी)तलाः क्षितिभृतः श्रीमद्गयाडादयः⁷। ये नीता⁸ हृदयोग्रतापस(श)मने दे—
8. वाङ्गनाभिः स्वयङ्कण्ठाश्लेषसुखस्थितिप्रणयिनो हाराभिरामाः कृताः ॥ [३*] त—
9. द्वंशेभवदूर्जित[:*] कृतवु(बु)धप्रीति[:] प्रतीतोदयो देवः शत्रुवधूमुखेन्दुतरणिः⁹
श्रीलो—
10. णभारो नृपः[।*] यस्याक्रम्य गुरुप्रतापशिखिनः पृथ्वीभृतः¹⁰ प्रोद्ध(द्ध)तान् दूरं सर्व—
11. दिगन्तरेषु तरसा स्वैरम्प्रससुः कराः ॥ [४*] तस्यात्मजः प्रणतपार्थिवचक्रचूडा—
12. निर्व्या(व्या)जरोपितपदश्चरितार्थनामा[।*] विस्तारिसौरभगुणोदयपूरिताशस्तस्मा—
13. दभूत्कुसुमभार¹¹ इति क्षिति(ती)शः ॥ [५*] अभृत ललि[त*]भारः¹² क्षमाभरम्भूरि—
तेजास्तदनु
14. तदनुजन्मा व्यूढभोगीन्द्रलीलः। अनयदमलिमानं यद्यशःपूरमुच्चै(च्चै)रपि रिपुरम—
15. णीनामञ्जनोन्मिश्रमश्रु) ॥ [६*] तस्मिन्नृपे दिवमुपेयुषि तत्तनूजः शास्तावनेरजने(नि)
शा—
16. न्तिकराभिवा(धा)नः[।*] येनोद्धृतेष्वखिलदुर्मदकण्टकेषु¹³ रेमे यवो(था)सु¹⁴खमपास्त—
भिया जनेन ॥ [७*] तस्य
17. प्रस(श)स्यचरिताज्जि(र्जि)तभूरिका(की)र्तिव्वि(र्वि)श्वम्भराविभुरभूदनुजस्ततोपि
श्रेयोभिरेकपदमित्य—
18. खिलैः शृ(श्रि)तात्मा यः श्रीशुभाकर इति प्रथितो यथार्थ(र्थम्) ॥ [८*] तस्य
त्रिपिष्टपजुष[:] परमेश्वर—
19. स्य देवी समस्तजनताम(न)तपदे¹⁵पद्मा[।*] सिद्धा(सिंहा)सनं शशिकरामल—
का(की)र्तिगौरी गौरीव गौरव—

5. Read सिंहाह्वयः

6. Read सङ्गताः or संगताः

7. Kielhorn reads श्रीमद्गयाडादय and corrects as श्रीमद्गयाडाद (?)

8. The Kumurang plate of Daṇḍimahādevī (No.20) reads ये नीत्वा. This is also the reading of her successors' charters (Nos. 21, 22 and 23).

9. The *visarga* sign seems to have been originally omitted and inserted afterwards.

10. The sign for *visarga* was originally omitted.

11. B. Misra reads कुसुमहार.

12. B. Misra reads हार.

13. Kielhorn reads ष्व and corrects षु. The inscription shows little difference between medial *u* and the conjunct with *v* at many places.

14. सु looks more like स्व.

15. Read पाद—

Reverse

20. पदं चिरमध्यरोहतः(त्)॥[९*] ततो दण्डिमादेवि(वी) सुता तस्या¹⁶ महि(ही)-
यसी[१*] महीमहि(ही)-
21. नसामत्या¹⁷ चे(चि)रकालमपालयत(त्)॥[१०*]अविच्छा(च्छि)न्नायति¹⁸ प्रासौ
वंसे(शे) करमहि(ही)भृतां[१*] चिह्नभूता प-
22. ताकेव या व(ब)भूव विभूषणं(णम्)॥[११*] लावण्यामृतनिःस्यन्द¹⁹सुन्दरं दधती
वपुः²⁰ परममा-
23. हेस्व(श्व)रि(री) मातापितृपादानुध्याता परमभ[ट्टा]रिका मा(म)हाराजाधिराज-
परमेश्व-
24. रि(री) श्रीमद्दाण्डिमा(म)हादेवि(वी) कुस(श)लिनि(नी)²¹ कोगोदमेण्डेले²²
वर्त(र्त्त)मा[न*] भविष्यन्मा(न्म)हा
25. सामंतंमाहाराज²³राजपुत्रान्तरङ्गकुमारामात्योपरिकविषयपतित-
26. दायुक्तकदण्डवा(पा)सि(शि)क[स्था]²⁴नान्तरिकानन्यान्च²⁵ राजप्रसादिन(नो)
भटच(चा)टवल्ल[भ*]जातिना²⁶ वरडा-
27. खण्डविषये पु(पू)र्व्वखण्डे पवाक(?)²⁷ सामन्तसामवाजिप्रमुखनिवासिनो ज-
28. नपदान²⁸ प(य)थार्ह(र्ह) मानयति वो(बो)धयती(ति) प्रमज्ञा²⁹पयति[१*] वियीमसु³⁰

16. There are some smaller letters engraved above this line which are faintly visible in the facsimile. Kielhorn tentatively reads them as सामंतस्य मुडमलपज.
17. The intended reading is सामर्थ्या as given in the Sāntiragrāma (No.16) and Kumurang (No.20) grants of Daṇḍimahādevī.
18. Kielhorn suggests प्राप्नौ, but the intended reading is प्रांशौ as in other grants (Nos.16, 20) of Daṇḍimahādevī.
19. Read निरस्यन्द.
20. The second part of the verse has been omitted.
21. The punctuation is superfluous.
22. Read कोगोदमण्डले
23. Read सामन्तमहा . . . ज
24. Other Bhauma-Kara charters have दाण्डपाशिक; the letter स्था has not been formed properly.
25. Read नन्यांश्च
26. Read जातीयान्
27. The intended reading is राणक
28. Read निवासिजनपदांश्च
29. Read समाज्ञा-
30. Read विदितमस्तु

भवार—

29. तदषसमन³¹ विल्लग्राम³²[*] स्य(सो)परिकर[*] सोथेष³³ सतंत्रवायगोकु[ट]
सौण्डी—
30. कादिप्रकुतित³⁵ सखेटघट(ट्ट)नदि(दी)तरस्थानादी(दि)गुल्मकः सर्व्वपीडाव—
31. र्जितो लेखनिप्रवेश(श)नास्तिया³⁶ भूमिछी(च्छ)द्रापिवा(धा)नन्यायेनाचन्द्रार्कक्षिति-
समकालं म(मा)तापित्रो—
32. रात्मनः सर्व्वसत्त्वानाञ्च पुन्या(ण्या)[भि]वृध(द्ध)ये विङ्गिनाटक³⁷विनिर्गताय विश्वा-
मित्रगोत्राय देव—
33. रातप्रवराय औदलेत अनुप्रवराय³⁸ क(का)ण्वशाखाद्ध्या(ध्या)[यिने*] अप्रतिडाघोष-
पौत्राय वासु—
34. दे[व*]पुत्राय प्रतिहार धवलाय सङ्क्रान्त्या³⁹ हस्तोदकेनास्माभिस्ताम्र(म्र)सा(शा)-
सनि(नी)कृत्याक्षप(य)निविध—
35. मेणाकरत्वेन प्रतिया(पा)दितस(स्त)देषास्मद(द्)तित्ति(त्ति)द्ध(द्ध)र्मगौरवाद्धवद्भिः
परिफ(पा)लनि(नी)या[॥*] सम्बत् १००.
36. ८० मार्गशीर्ष वदि ५⁴⁰[॥*] व(ब)हुभिर्वसुधा[द*]त्ता⁴¹ राजान[*] सगरा-
दिभिः[।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भु(भू)मिः तस्य तस्य

31. Read भवतामेतद्विषयसंबद्ध

32. The letter ल्ल has not been written properly and looks like ल्या. The name of the village is written again in line 41 as विलग्राम. B. Misra reads विल्वग्राम. The locality may be identified with the present Billipadā in the Bhanjanagar P.S. of the Ganjam district. The *viṣaya* called Varadākhaṇḍa, in which the village is stated to have been situated, is the present locality called Vāradā or Vāruḍā in the same P.S. Purvvakhaṇḍa generally denoted the eastern side of the river Baḍanai or Mahānadī, comprising Buguḍā and Bhanjanagar Police Stations.

33. Read सोदेशः

34. Read सतन्तुवाय

35. Read शौण्डिकादिप्रकृतिकः

36. Read -प्रवेशतया

37. Kielhorn suggests वेङ्गिपाटक which may also be the intended reading.

38. Read देवरातप्रवरायौदलेत्यनुप्रवराय

39. Read संक्रान्त्यां

40. The reading of the numerical symbol is doubtful. B. Misra read 15.

41. The punctuation is superfluous.

37. तदा पालः⁴²[॥*१२] मा भूदफसना सः परदत्तिषु पार्थिवा⁴³[॥*१३] स्वदता(त्तां) परदतम्वा(त्तां वा) यो हरे[त*] वसुद्ध(न्ध)रा[म्*॥] स विष्ठाया[*]
 38. कृमिभु(र्भू)त्वा पित्रि(तृ)भिः[.] सह पच्यतेः(ते)।[॥*१४] श्रीमत् दण्डिमहादेव्या तावच्छासनमस्तीदं⁴⁴। प्रस(श)स्ति समस्त⁴⁵—
 39. वचसा कविनेह मा(म)हाकवेः[॥*] कृता जम्भलनाम्नेयमात्मजेनं(न) जय(या)-त्मनः[॥*१५] पुणाकोपि⁴⁶ राणकश्री—
 40. दाणालवः माहाअक्षपटल⁴⁷ श्रीन्⁴⁸। मा(म)हासन्धिविग्रहि(ही)श्रीउग्रादित्य⁴⁹॥ माप्रातिर⁵⁰ श्रि(श्री)प(प्र)हासः[॥*]
 41. विलग्रामा⁵¹ चता(त्वा)र(रो) भागा[*]। तन्मद्धे(ध्ये) धवलेन ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाना[देश]⁵² भाग[*] सङ्क्रान्त्या[*] हस्तोदकेन दत्तं(त्तः)[॥*]
 42. उत्तरपर्वतशिखर साद्धि तिवडिसीगडि पोचाडिगाडि होण्डिमसिगगाडि⁵³ साद्धि अझेरट—
 43. गकगाडि⁵³ साद्धि होण्डलग्राम साद्धि खड्गपटग्राम⁵⁴ साद्धि चतु[*]शि(सी)मोप-लक्षित[*]॥ उत्काण्ण⁵⁵ सम्भकेन⁵⁶[॥*]

42. Read फलम्

43. Read मा भूदफलशङ्का वः परदत्तिषु पार्थिवाः; the second foot of the verse has been omitted.

44. Read श्रीमद्दण्डिमहादेव्यास्तावच्छासनमस्तीदं।

45. The Kumurang plate of Daṇḍimahādevī reads शस्त-

46. The intended reading is दूतकोऽत्र; B. Misra suggests पुणात्र, an Oriya form of Sanskrit पुनः.

47. Read महाक्षपटल; the name दाणालव seems to be the Prakrtized form of दानार्णव.

48. The name seems to be incomplete. Kielhorn suggests the second part of the name to be सिंहः

49. Read श्रच्युग्रादित्यः

50. Read महाप्रतिहारः

51. Read ग्रामस्य

52. The intended reading may be ब्राह्मणानामेक

53. The expressions are not intelligible.

54. The locality may be identified with the present Khairapaṭi, which is situated close to Billipadā in the Bhanjanagar P.S. of the Ganjam district.

55. Read उत्कीर्ण

56. B. Misra suggests the name to be स्तम्भक.

Abstract of Contents

The inscription begins with the symbol for *siddham* and the word *svasti*. Then verse 1 describes the capital of the chief city, the name occurring after the verse in a prose passage and which is compared with the season of autumn. After the prose passage giving the name of the chief city as *Guheśvarapāṭaka*, whence the grant was issued, in line 3, verse 2 describes the achievements of a king named Unmatṭasimha. Verse 3 states that in the family of this king, there flourished the kings such as Gayāḍa and others who possessed peerless qualities. Verse 4 states that in that family there flourished the powerful and renowned king Loṇabhāra who destroyed the enemies from all quarters. Verse 5 describes his son named Kusumabhāra (or Kusumahāra) who became king and whose fame spread far and near like fragrance. Verse 6 describes his younger brother named Lalitabhāra (or Lalitahāra) who ascended the throne after him. Verse 7 states that when he had gone to heaven, his son named Śāntikara became the ruler of the kingdom and extirpated all his adversaries. Verse 8 describes his younger brother named Śubhākara who ruled the kingdom after him. Verse 9 states that when this king died, his queen named Gaurī ascended the throne. Verses 10 and 11 state that after this queen, her daughter *Daṇḍimahādevī* of the Kara family ruled the kingdom for a long time and issued the charter. Then follows a passage in prose from lines 22-36 describing the reigning queen *Daṇḍimahādevī*, who issued the order relating to the grant. She was a devout worshipper of Maheśvara (Śiva) and assumed the titles of *Paramamāheśvarī*, *Paramabhaṭṭārikā* and *Mahārājādhirāja-parameśvarī*. She issued the order addressing the present and future functionaries of Koṅgoda-maṇḍala, viz., the *Mahāsāmantas*, *Mahārājas*, *Rājaputras*, *Antaraṅgas*, *Kumārāmātyas*, *Uparikas*, *Viṣayapatis*, *Tadāyuktakas*, *Dāṇḍapāśikas*, *Sthānāntarikas* and others, enjoying royal favour, such as the *cāṭas*, the *bhaṭas* and the *vallabha* categories. The royal order was also addressed to the *Sāmantas*, *Sānavājis* and other residents of Pūrvakhaṇḍa situated in the Varaḍākhaṇḍa *viṣaya* (district) of Koṅgodamaṇḍala. The order relating to the grant of the village called Villagrāma⁵⁷ situated in the said *viṣaya* is stated to have been made in

57. The locality has been identified with the present village of Belagam in the Athgarh *taluk* of the Ganjam district and which is situated on the eastern side of the river Baḍanai or the ancient Mahānadī. This area is known as Pūrvakhaṇḍa from earlier times, since at least the time of the Śailodbhavas.

favour of Dhavala, designated as *Pratihāra*, the son of Vāsudeva and the grandson of Apratiḍāghoṣa, who belonged to the Viśvāmitra *gotra*, Devarāta *pravara*, Audala *anupravara* and was a student of Kāṇva *śākhā* and an immigrant from Veṅgipāṭaka⁵⁸ (or Viṅgipāṭaka). The grant was made a permanent endowment on the occasion of a *saṁkrānti*, and made free from taxes, with the right over additional or unfixed taxes, the space above the ground, over the subjects such as the weavers, the herdsmen, the distillers and other artisans, together with the hamlets, the landing places ferry-places etc. It was made free from all obstructions, not to be entered by the *cāṭas* and *bhaṭas* and granted in accordance with the maxim called *bhūmi-chidra-pidhāna* and to endure as long as the sun, the moon and the earth would exist. This order is followed by the date of the grant in line 35, as *year 180, the 5th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa*. Lines 36-38 give two and half of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. Line 38 states that the charter belonged to *Daṇḍimahādevī*. Line 39 gives another verse stating the name of the author of the eulogy, as Jambhala, the son of the great poet Jayātman. Lines 39 and 40 record the names of the officers associated with the execution of the grant. *Rāṇaka* Dāṇālava (Dānārṇava) seems to be the *dūtaka*, Śrī-Nṛ[simha] designated as *Mahākṣapaṭalika*, Ugrāditya has been stated to be the *Mahāsandhivigrahin* and Prahāsa as the *Mahāpratibhāra*. Line 41 states that one-fourth of share of the village was given to the Brāhmaṇas by Dhavala on the day of a *saṁkrānti*. Lines 42 and 43 specify in a very corrupt Sanskrit, the boundaries of the gift village wherein the names of two localities called Hoṇḍala and Khairapaṭa occur. The charter ends with the name of the scribe Sambhaka in line 43.

58. It may be Vengi or Peda-Vengi, the Eastern Cālukyan capital, in Andhra Pradesh.

No. 18

Ganjam Grant of Daṇḍimahādevī

Plate B

- Provenance* : Ganjam District.
Reference : 1. F. Kielhorn, *EI*, VI, 140-142.
 2. B. Misra, *OUBK*, 59ff.
Language : Sanskrit, partly in prose and partly in verse.
Metres : Verses 1-4 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; v.6 *Mālinī*; vv. 5, 7-9 *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 10-11 *Anuṣṭubh*.
Script : Eastern variety of North Indian alphabet of about the 10th century A.D.
Date : Not dated.

Text¹

Obverse

1. सिद्धम्²[।*] स्वस्ति व्यस्तजलाभ्रविभ्रमधरैः स्वे(श्वे)तातप्र(प)त्रोत्करैरस्वि(श्वी)-
यसु(श्रु)तिचामरै[श्च] हसि—
2. तव्याकोस(श)काशोदयै[:।] रु(उ)द्दामै(र्म)दन³सौरभैश्च करिणामाक्षिप्तसप्तच्छदा-
मौदै[:]
3. सनि(त्रि)हितां सदैव शरदारम्भश्री(श्रि)यं वि(बि)भ्रतः। [।*१] श्रीगुहेश्वरपाटक-
वसित⁴विजयस्कन्धाभा(वा)रात्। स—
4. र्वाशापरिपु(पू)रणाधिकरुचिर्यस्तापमस्तन(न)यन(न्रा)[न*]न्दं कृतवाञ्जनस्य मनसि
प्रातचिरं⁵ सदद्—

-
1. From the inked impressions and photographs, kindly supplied by the authority of the Government Museum, Madras. The Plate is now preserved in the Government Museum, Madras.
 2. Expressed by a symbol.
 3. The letter न is superfluous.
 4. The intended reading is पाटकावासित
 5. Read प्राप्तप्रतिष्ठं चिरम्।

5. ष्टिप्रतिरोधि येन च तमो निर्मूलमुन्मु(न्मू)लितः(तं) श्रीमाने(नि)न्दुरी(रि)वावनीपतिः⁶-
रभु(भू)दुन्मट्टसिहा(सिंहा)-
6. ह्यय[*]। [१*२] तद्वड्शा(द्वंशा)दभवन(न्न)निन्दी(न्दि)तगुणा मुत्का(क्ता)मया[*]
सड्शताः⁷ सुखसि(शी)तला[*] स्थितिभृतः⁹ श्रीमदग¹⁰-
7. याडादयः[१*] ये नीता ¹¹हृदयोग्रतापशमने देवाङ्गनाभिः स्वय[*] कण्वा(ण्ठा)श्लेष-
सुखस्ति(स्थि)ति-
8. प्रण[यि*]नो हाराभिरामाः कृताः[॥*३] तद्वंशेभवदु(दू)र्जितः कृतवु(बु)धसी(प्री)तिः
प्रतीतोदयो देव[:]
9. शत्रुवधु(धू)मुखेन्दुत[र*]णिः।¹² श्रीलोणहारो¹³ नृपः[१*] यस्य(स्या)क्रम्य गुरुप्रताप-
शिखिन[:*]
10. पृथ्वि(थ्वी)भृतः प्रोद्धतान(न्) दु(दू)रं सर्वदिगन्तरेषु तर्षा¹⁴ स्वैरं पशशुः¹⁵ करा[*]।
[१*४] तस्यात्म-
11. जः प्रणतपार्थिवचक्रचु(चू)डानिव्या(व्या)जरोपितपदश्चरितार्थनामान¹⁶[१*] विस्तारि-
शौ(सौ)रभ-
12. गुणोदयपूरिताशः श्रीमान¹⁷भु(भू)द्वसुमहार¹⁸ इ[ति*] क्षिति(ती)शः। [१*५*]
¹⁹स्मा(क्ष्मा)भरं भु(भू)रितेजास्तद-
13. नु तदनुजन्म(न्मा) व्यूढभा(भो)गीन्द्रलीलो(लः)[१*] [अ*]नयदमली(लि)मान[*]
यद्यशः पु(पू)रम(मु)चै(च्चै)र-
14. पि रिप(पु)रमणीनामञ्जनोन्मिश्रमश्रु। [१*६] तस्मिन्(नृ)प(पे)दिवमुपेजु(यु)षि

-
6. *Visarga* is superfluous.
 7. Read सङ्गता as in other records of the dynasty.
 8. The scribe has inadvertantly omitted सद्गताः here.
 9. Read क्षितिभृतः
 10. Read श्रीमद्-
 11. The ॠ sign has been shown like a dot below ह at its left.
 12. The punctuation is superfluous.
 13. Other grants of Daṇḍimahādevī read भारो.
 14. Read तरसा
 15. Read प्रससुः
 16. The letter न is superfluous.
 17. Other plates of Daṇḍimahādevī read before this name -शस्तस्माद-
 18. Other plates of this queen read भार
 19. The scribe has inadvertantly omitted here अभृतः ललितहारः

- तत्तनु(नू)जः सा(शा)स्ताव—
15. नेरजनि²⁰ सा(शा)न्तिकराभिधानः[।*] येनोद्धृतेष्वखिलदुर्मदकण्टकेषु रेमे यथा-
सुद्ध(ख)मप(पा)—
16. स्तभिया जनेन। [।*७] तस्य प्रशस्यचरितार्जितभु(भू)रिकिर्णवि²¹श्वम्भराविभुरभु(भू)-
दनुजस्ततो[पि।]
17. श्रेयोभिरेकपदमी(मि)त्यखिलैः श्री(श्रि)तात्मा यः श्रीशुभाकर इति प्रथितो
यथार्थ[म्॥*८] तस्य
18. त्रिपिष्टपजुषः परमेस्व(श्व)रस्य देवी समस्तजनतानतपादपद्मा। सि[।*]हासनं शशि-
कराम—
19. लकीर्त्तिगौरी गौरीव गौरवपदं ची(चि)रमध्यरो[ह*]त(त्)। [।*९] ततो दण्डि-
महा[दे*]वी सुता तस्या महीयसी[।*]
20. महीमहीनसामर्थ्या²² चिरकालमपालयत(त्)। [।*१०] पर[म*]माहेश्वरी मात(ता)-
पितृपादानुध्याता परम—
21. भट्टारिका महाराजाधिर(रा)जपरमेश्वरी श्रीमद्दण्डिमहादेवी कुशली(लि)नी॥ थ॥²³
दक्षिणतो—
22. सलायां कोङ्गोदमण्डलके यथाकालाध्यासिनो²⁴

Reverse

23. भविष्य²⁵न्महाराजराजपुत्रान्तरङ्गर²⁶कुमारामात्यु(त्यो)परिकविषयपतितदायु—
24. त्तकदाण्डपाशिकस्थानान्तरिकानन्यानपि राजप्रसादिनश्चाटभटवल्लभजा-
तीया[न्*]

20. नि looks like ति

21. Read कीर्त्तिर्वि-

22. Kielhorn reads महीम्महीनसा(या)मत्या

23. The same type of punctuation marks with a letter थ between the double *daṇḍas* are found in the copper-plate grants of Vidyādharaḥbhañja of the Bhañja dynasty of Vañjulvaka, whose kingdom comprised the Ganjam district during about the 10th century A.D. (cf. *IA*, XVII, 140); also see *EI*, IX, 271-277 and plate). The expression 'थ' seems to be the influence of the local dialect of the Ganjam district, in which it denotes 'to stop'.

24. The line ends here due to want of space to continue.

25. Other records of the dynasty read वर्त्तमानभविष्यन्म-

26. The letter र is superfluous.

25. न(व)र्त्तणिविषयेपि²⁷ महामत(ह)त्तर²⁸वृ(बृ)हद्भोगिपुस्तकपालकुटकोलसाद्य-
धिकरण[*]
26. यथार्ह[*] मानयति वो(बो)धयति स[मा*]ज्ञापयति च विदितमस्तु भवत(ता)मेत-
द्विषयसम्ब(म्ब)न्ध(द्ध) ग(?)—
27. रसांभाग्रामः सोपरिकरः सोदेशः सतंत्र(तन्तु)वायगोकुटशो(शौ)ण्डिकादिप्रकृ-
त(ति)कः
28. सखेटघट्टनदि(दी)तरस्थानादिगुल्मकः सर्वे(र्व)पि(पी)डाविवर्जितो लेखनीप्रवेशा-
(श)तय(या)
29. भु(भू)मिच्छित्रा(द्रा)पिधानं(न)न्यायेनाचन्द्रार्कक्षितिसमकाल[*] मातापिमातापि²⁹—
30. त्रोरात्मनः सर्वसत्त्वा(त्त्वा)नाञ्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये काश्यपगोत्राय का—
31. श्यपावच्छा(त्सा)[र*]नैधृ(ध्रु)वप्रवराय वाजसेनचरणाय³⁰ काण्वशाखायध्यायि³¹—
32. ने भट(ट्ट)पुत्रपुरुषोत्त(त्त)माय³² इहैव उत्रायने³³ दतं(त्तम्) मातापित्रो—
33. रात्मनश्च पुन्यापिविर्धये³⁴ श(स)लिलधारापुर[*]सरेन(ण)चन्द्रार्कक्षि—
34. तिसमकालमकरि(री)कृत्य प्रतिपादितोस्माभिर्यता(तः) षा(शा)सनदर्ष(र्ष)ना—
35. द्धर्मगो(गौ)रवादस्मद्वैरवाच्च न केनचित्परिपन्थिना भवितव्यः(व्यम्)[॥*] इति कम—
36. लदलाम्बु(म्बु)विन्दुलोला[*] श्री(श्री)यमनुचिन्त्य मनुस्य(ष्य)जि(जी)वितं च[*]

27. Kielhorn and B. Misra read the name of the *viṣaya* as नर्त्तणि. They have not identified the place name with its present name-sake. The first letter of the name looks more like व than न, वर्त्तणि or वर्त्तिनि as a *viṣaya*, situated in Kōṅgoda-maṇḍala, is known from the copper-plate charters of the Śailodbhavas and others who ruled the area before the Bhauma-Karas, (see “The Patiakella grant of Śivarāja”, *EI*, IX, 285ff.; “The Puri plates of Dharmarāja”, *JBORS*, XVI, 176ff). The locality was also known as Vorttonoka. Further, it has been found mentioned in several copper-plate charters of the early Eastern Gangas of Kalinganagara (see *EI*, XXIV, 15-20; XXVIII, 63ff.; *JAHRS*, III, 30ff., etc.). It has been identified with the place bearing the same name (Vartani), situated in the Athgarh *taluk* of the Ganjam District.

28. Kielhorn reads महामततुर and corrects as महामहत्तर.
29. The last three letters are redundant.
30. Read वाजसेनयचरणाय
31. Read शाखाध्यायि-
32. Originally the *visarga* sign was engraved after य.
33. The intended reading is उत्तरायणे
34. Read पुण्याभिवृद्धये

- श(स)कलमिदमुदाहर्त³⁵ वु(बु)–
 37. ध्वा(द्ध्वा) न हि प(पु)रुशै(षैः) परकीत(र्त्त)यो विलोप्या[*]॥ लेखको मा(म)हा-
 क्षपटलिकभोगडः। उत्कीर्ण(र्ण)त–
 38. ट्ट[का*]रक³⁶कण्ठककेन। ग्रामोयं प्रसिद्ध(द्ध)दतः सीमशन³⁷[।*] अस्य ग्राम-
 स्याद्धो भागः पुरुषोत्त(त्त)मेन कौ–
 39. शिकगोत्राय औदल्य³⁸ विश्वामित्रदेवरज³⁹प्रवर(राय) भट(ट्ट)पुत्ररविकाय दत्त
 अर्ध(द्ध)अंश⁴⁰[॥*]

Abstract of Contents

The record begins with symbol for *siddham* and the word *svasti*. This is followed by 10 verses which are same as in the Plate A (No.17) of *Daṇḍimahādevī*. The verses are followed by a long passage in prose in lines 20-35, recording the royal order relating to the grant of the copper-plate charter issued by the reigning queen *Daṇḍimahādevī*. The queen has been endowed with the royal titles of *Paramamāheśvarī*, *Paramabhaṭṭārikā* and *Mahārājādhirāja-parameśvarī* and is described as devoted to her parents. The royal order relating to the grant was addressed to the [present] and future functionaries in *Koṅgoda-maṇḍala* situated in *Dakṣiṇa Tosali*, such as *Mahārājas*, *Rājaputras*, *Antaraṅgas*, *Kumārāmātyas*, *Uparikas*, *Viṣayapatis*, *Tadāyuktakas*, *Dāṇḍapāsikas*, *Sthānāntarikas* and others enjoying royal favours, such as the *cāṭas*, the *bhaṭas* and the *vallabha* categories. The same declaration was also addressed to the royal officers of the *viṣaya* (district) called *Varttaṇi* (situated in *Koṅgoda-maṇḍala*), such as the *Mahāmahattara*, *Brhadbhogin*, *Pustakapāla*, *Kuṭakolasa* and their assistants. The village called *Garasāmbhā*, situated in the said *viṣaya*, is stated to have been granted together with *uparikara* (additional or unfixed taxes), *uddeśa* (the space above the ground), with the weavers, the herdsmen, the distillers and with the landing places, ferry places, the hamlets

35. Read - मुदाहर्तं च

36. Kielhorn reads तं [वां ?]र

37. The intended reading seems to be चतुःसीमश्च; the last two letters are not formed properly.

38. *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

39. Read देवरात; the writer actually intended to refer to the *Kuśika gotra* with the three *pravaras* mentioned in this charter.

40. The intended reading is अर्द्धांशः, but the word is redundant.

or the outposts etc., in favour of the Brāhmaṇa named *Bhaṭṭaputra* Puruṣottama, belonging to Kāśyapa *gotra*, Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra and Naidhruva *pravaras*, Vājasaneyā *carāṇa* and a student of Kāṇva *śākhā*, for accruing religious merit for herself and her parents and all other beings. The grant is said to have been made on the occasion of *Uttarāyaṇa*. It is stated to have been made free from taxes and made permanent by means of a copper-plate charter to exist as long as the moon, the sun and the earth endure. The grant is also said to have been made in accordance with the maxim *bhūmi-chidra-pidhāna*. The passage is followed by a benedictory verse in lines 35-37. Lines 37-38 record the names of the officers associated with the execution of the charter. The writer of the charter is named as Bhogaḍa, designated as *Mahākṣapaṭalika*. The name of the engraver is Kaṇṭhakaka, the brazier. Lines 38-39 record that the village granted is contained within its well known four boundaries. Half of the granted village is recorded to have been given by the donee Puruṣottama to *Bhaṭṭaputra* Ravika of Kauśika *gotra*, with the *pravaras* of Audalya, (Audala), Viśvāmitra and Devarāta.

No. 19

Arabala Grant of Daṇḍimahādevī; Year 183

<i>Provenance</i>	: Arabal, near Jajpur; Cuttack District.
<i>Reference</i>	: Unpublished.
<i>Language</i>	: Sanskrit, partly in prose and partly in verse.
<i>Metres</i>	: Verses 1-4 <i>Śārdūlavikrīḍita</i> ; vv. 5, 7-9 <i>Vasantatilakā</i> ; vv. 10-19, 21 <i>Anuṣṭubh</i> ; v. 20 <i>Puspitāgrā</i> .
<i>Script</i>	: Eastern variety of North Indian alphabet of about 9th century A.D.
<i>Date</i>	: Year 183, the 15th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Jyeṣṭha.

Text¹

Obverse

1. सिद्धम्² [स्वस्ति] [१*] व्यस्तजलाभ्रविभ्रमधरैः श्वेतातपत्रोत्करैरश्वीयश्रुतिचामरै-
श्च हसितव्याकोश—
2. काशोदयै[१] उद्दामैर्मदसौरभैश्च करिणामाक्षिप्तसप्तच्छदामोदैः सन्निहितां सदे(दै)व
शर—
3. दारम्भश्री(श्रि)यम्बि(म्बि)भ्रतः[॥१*] [श्रीगुहे]श्वरपाटकनिवासि विजयस्कन्धा-
भा(वा)रात्[१*] सर्वाशापरिपूरणाधिकरुचिर्य—
4. स्तापमस्तत्रयन्त्रा[नन्दं] कृतवाञ्जनस्य मनसि प्राप्तप्रतिष्ठञ्चिरम्। सद्दृष्टिप्रतिरोधि
येन च तमो निर्मूलमुन्मूलि—
5. [तं] श्रीमानिन्दुरिवावनीपतिरभूदुन्मट्टसिंहाह्वयः[॥२*] तद्वङ्शा(द्वंशा)दभवन्न[नि*]-
न्दितगुणाः³ मुक्तामयाः सङ्गताः[ः] स—

1. From the photograph in B. Das, *The Bhauma-Karas, the Buddhist Kings of Orissa And Their Times*, Delhi, 1978. The text has not been given in this book.

2. Expressed by a symbol.

3. *Visarga* is redundant.

6. दृत्ताः सुखशीतलाः] क्षितिभृतः श्रीमद्गयाडादयः। ये नीत्वा हृदयोग्रताप⁴ शमने देवाङ्गनाभिः]
7. [स्वयं] कण्ठाश्लेषसुखस्थितिप्रणयिनो हाराभिरामाः[*] कृताः[॥] [३*] तद्वङ्शे⁵-
[५*]भवदु(दू)र्जितः[*] कृतवु(बु)धप्रोतिः प्रतीतोदयो
8. देवः शत्रुवधूमुखेन्दुतरणिः श्रीलोणभारो नृपः[।] यस्याक्रम्य गुरुप्रतापशिखिनः
प्रिथ्वी⁶भृतः प्रोद्धातान्दू-
9. [रं] सर्वदिगन्तरेषु तरसा स्वैरं प्रससुः[*] कराः॥ [४*] तस्यात्मजः प्रणतपार्थिव-
चक्रचूडानिर्व्याजरोपि-
10. तपदश्चरितार्थनामा। विस्तारिसौरभगुणोदयपूरिताशस्तस्मादभूत्कुसुमहारः⁷ इति
क्षितिशः[*] ॥ ५]
11. अभृत ललितभारः क्षमाभर[] भूरितेजास्तदनु तदनुजन्मा व्यूढभोगीन्द्रलीलः। अनय-
दमलिमा-
12. नं यद्यशः पूरमुच्चैरपि रिपुरमणीनामञ्जनोन्मिश्रमश्रु॥ [६*] तस्मिन्नृपे दिवमुपेयुषि
तत्तनूजः
13. शास्तावनेरजनि शान्तिकराभिधानः। येनोद्धृतेष्वखिलदुर्मदकण्टकेषु रेमे यथासुख-
मपास्त-
14. भिया जनेन॥ [७*] तस्य प्रशस्तचरितार्जितभूरिकीर्तेर्विश्वम्भराविभुरभूदनुजस्ततोपि।
श्रेयोभिरेकप-
15. दमित्यखिलैः श्रितात्मा यः श्रीशुभाकर इति प्रथितो यथार्थम्॥ [८*] तस्य त्रिपिष्ट-
पजुषः परमेश्व-
16. [रस्य देवी समस्तजनतानतपादपद्मा]। सिंहासनं शशिकरामलकीर्तिगौरी गौरीव
गौरवपदं चि-
17. रमध्यरो[हत्]॥ [९*] ततो दण्डिमहादेवी सुता तस्या महीयसी। महीमहीनसामर्थ्या
चिरकालमपाल-
18. [यत्]॥ [१०*] [अविच्छिन्नायतिप्रांशै] वङ्शे(वंशे) करमहीभृताम्। चिह्नभूता पताकेव
या व(ब)भूव विभूषणम्॥ [११*] लावण्याम्-
19. [तनिस्यन्दसुन्दरं दधती वपुः]। या राजच(च्च)न्द्रलेखे व विलसत्कीर्ति-
चन्द्रिका॥ [१२*] तस्याः प्रतापनतदुर्मदशत्रु-

4. Santiragrāma and Kumurang plates of Daṇḍimahādevī read हृदयप्रताप-

5. Read तद्वंशे

6. Read पृथ्वी

7. The Sāntiragrāma grant reads भारः

20. भूपनेत्राम्बु(म्बु)धौतनवयावकमण्डनापि। पादाम्बु(म्बु)जद्युतिरतर्कितमन्वरञ्जि मञ्जी(ञ्जि)रलग्नकुरुविन्ददलोरुभासा॥ [१*१३] उ—
21. [द्यानेषु शिलीमुखावली(लि)रवो] हारेषु मुक्तास्थितिर्दोषासङ्गरुचिस्तुषारकिरणे विज्ञेषु सद्देशिता⁸। रा—
22. [हौ तीक्ष्णकरग्रहः कुमणिषु त्रासोदयः केवलं कान्ताकुन्तलसन्ततौ कुटिलता यस्याः प्रभुत्वे भुवि॥ [१४*]
23. रम्यालोकोत्सुकितनयनानन्दपीयूषवर्तिः सेवासक्तक्षितिपतिसभापद्मिनी राज-हङ्सी⁹[१*] काले योष्मग्लपितसु—
24. कृतालम्ब(म्ब)नस्वर्णयष्टिः¹⁰ सा निःशेषप्रणयिसुमनोनन्दनोद्यानलक्ष्मीः॥ [१५*] परममाहेश्वरी मातापितृपादा—
25. नुध्याता परमभट्टारिका महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरी श्रीमद्दण्डिमहादेवी कुशलिनी॥¹¹ उत्तरतोसलाया[]
26. वर्तमानभविष्यन्महासामन्तराजन्यकराजपुत्रान्तरङ्गकुमारामात्योपरिकविषयपति-तदायुक्तकदाण्ड—
27. पाशिकस्थानान्तरिकानन्यानपि राजप्रसादिनश्चाटभटवल्लभजातीयान्॥ तेण्डहार-विषये [महाम-]

Reverse

28. हत्तरवृ(बृ)हद्भोगिपुस्तकपालकुटकोलसाद्यधिकरणं यथार्हं मानयति वो(बो)धयति समाज्ञापयति [च]
29. [विदितमस्तु] भवतामेतद्विषयसंमन्ध¹² अरवा(बा)लग्रामः¹³ कस(सो)परिकरः सोद्देशः सतन्त्र(न्तु)वायगोकुटशौण्डिका[दि]—
30. प्रकृतिकः सखेटघट्टनदीतरस्थानादिगुल्मकः सर्व्वपीडावर्जितो[5]लेखनीप्रवेस(श)-तया भूमिछिद्रापिधानन्या—
31. येनाचन्द्रार्कक्षितिसमकालं मातापित्रोरात्मनः सर्व्वसत्त्वानाञ्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये।¹⁴

8. Read सद्देशिता as in other grants of Daṇḍimahādevī.

9. Read हंसी

10. The Santiragrāma grant reads यष्टिर्या-

11. The punctuation is superfluous.

12. Read सम्बद्धः

13. The locality is the present Arabal near Jajpur in the Cuttack district, situated on the left bank of the river Brāhmaṇī, whence the plate is known to have been discovered.

14. The punctuation is superfluous.

- पुण्डुवर्द्धनविनी(नि)र्गताय [अ?]-
32. [र]वा(बा)ले वास्तव्याय दा(दी)क्षित - -¹⁵लवृद्धपौत्राय [दी*]क्षितजीवाश्व(?)वृद्ध-
पुत्राय।¹⁶ भारद्वाजगोत्राय¹⁷ आङ्गिरसप्रवराय
33. वाजसेन¹⁸चरणाय क(का)ण्वशाखाध्यायिने।¹⁹ भट्टपुत्रपुरुषोत्तमवृद्धाय सूर्यग्रहण-
वेलाया[] हस्तोदकेन
34. स्तांम्र²⁰शासनीकृत्याक्षयनि(नी)विधर्मण²¹ अकरत्वेन प्रतिपादितस्तदेशा(षा)स्म-
दत्तिर्द्धर्मगौरवाद्भवद्भिः प-
35. रिपालनीया[*] सम्वत् १००.८०.३।²² जे(ज्ये)ष्ठ वदि १५[।] उक्तञ्च धर्म-
सा(शा)स्त्रे[*] व(ब)हुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादि-
36. भिः[*] यस्य यस्य यदा भुमी²³स्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥*१६॥ मा भूदफलस(श)ङ्का
वः परदत्तेति पार्थिवाः। स्वदानात्फ-
37. लमानन्त्यं परदत्तानुपालने॥ [१७*] स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ताम्वा²⁴ यो हरेद्वसुन्ध²⁵राम्। स
विष्ठायाङ्कृमि²⁶भूत्वा पितृभिः।
38. सह पच्यते॥ [१८*] व(ब)हुनात्र किमुक्तेन संक्षेपादिदमुच्यते। स्वल्पमायुश्चला भोगा
धर्मे(र्मो) लोकद्वयं(य)क्षम²⁷-
39. : ॥ [१९*] इति कमलदलाम्बु(म्बु) विन्दुलोलाम(लां) श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवित-
ञ्च। सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च वु(बु)-
40. ध्वा(द्ध्वा) न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः॥ [२०*] [यावत्पाता]लभूस्वर्गाः
सभू(भु)जङ्गनरामराः[*] श्रीमद्दण्डि-
41. महादेव्यास्तावच्छासनमस्त्विदम्॥ [२१*] प्रशस्तिः॥ दूतकोत्र(?) महाक्षपटलाधि-
कृतराजपुत्रश्रीकोट्टभञ्ज(ञ्जो)

15. Two letters indicating the name are illegible.

16. The punctuation is superfluous.

17. *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

18. Read वाजसनेय

19. The punctuation is superfluous.

20. Read ताम्र

21. *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

22. The punctuation is superfluous.

23. Read भूमि-

24. Read स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा

25. Read हरेत वसु-

26. Read विष्ठायां कृमि-

27. The sign for *visarga* and the *danḍas* have been incised in the beginning of the next line.

42. लेखको महाक्षपटलिक भोगीप्रतिह(हा)रमहासन्धितिग्रहिकराणकश्रीखगेन।
 43. उत्कीर्ण तठकारकव(ब)लदेवेन। अस्य ग्रामस्य प्रसिद्धचतुःसीमा पर्यन्त[:*]
 इति:²⁸॥

Abstract of Contents

The text of the inscription up to line 24 is the same as found in the Sāntiragrāma (No.16) and Kumuranga (No.20) grants of Daṇḍimahādevī who also issued the present charter. Lines 24-25 describe, in a prose passage, the reigning queen Daṇḍimahādevī as *Paramamāheśvarī*, *Paramabhāṭṭārikā* and *Mahārājādhirāja-parameśvarī* and a devotee at the feet of her parents. Lines 25-34 record the details of the grant. The royal order relating to the grant has been addressed to the present and future *Mahūsāmantas*, *Rājanyakas*, *Rājaputras*, *Antaraṅgas*, *Kumārāmātyas*, *Uparikas*, *Viṣayapatis*, *Tadāyuktas*, *Dāṇḍapāśikas*, *Sthānāntarikas* and other royal favourites, such as the *cāṭas*, *bhaṭas* and *vallabha* categories of Uttara Tosalā. The officers of the *viṣaya* or district of Teṇḍahāra, situated in Uttara Tosalā, such as *Mahāmahattara*, *Brhadbhogin*, *Pustakapāla*, *Kuṭakolasa* and their *adhikaraṇas* or assistants have also been addressed informing that the village named Aravāla (or Arabala), situated within the said *viṣaya* has been granted in favour of *Bhaṭṭa* Puruṣottamavṛddha, son of *Dīkṣita* Jivāśva(?)vṛddha and grandson of *Dīkṣita*lavṛddha, belonging to *Bhāradvāja gotra*, *Aṅgirasa pravara*, *Vājasaneyā carana* and *Kāṇva śākhā* and said to have migrated from Puṇḍravardhana and a resident of Aravāla. The grant is stated to have been made along with *uparikara* or additional taxes, the space above the ground, with the weavers, the herdsmen, the distillers and other artisans, with the landing places, the outposts and ferry places etc. It is said to have been made by means of a copper-plate grant, free from all obstructions and according to the principles of *Akṣaya-nivi* and the maxim called *bhūmi-chidra-pidhāna-nyāya*. It has been granted free from taxes, for accruing religious merit of the reigning queen and her parents and all other creatures. The grant is said to have been made with the libation of water, on the occasion of a solar eclipse. The date of the grant has been recorded in line 35 as *the year 183, the 15th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Jyēṣṭha*. This is followed by five of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses in lines 35-40. Lines 40-41 record another verse in praise of the grant made by *Daṇḍimahādevī*, praying for

28. *Viṣarga* is redundant.

the permanence of the charter as long as the netherworld, the earth and the heaven, which contain respectively the serpents, the human beings and the gods would endure. Lines 41-43 record the names of the royal officers associated with the execution of the grant. *Rājaputra* Koṭṭabhañja, the *Mahākṣapaṭalādhikṛta* seems to be the *dūtaka* or the executor of the grant. The writer of the charter is Śrī-Khaga who has been designated as *Rāṇaka*, *Mahākṣapaṭalika*, *Bhogin*, *Pratihāra* and *Mahāsandhivigrahika*. Baladeva, the brazier, has been mentioned as the engraver of the charter. The village is stated at the end of the record to have been granted up to its well known four boundaries.

No. 20

Kumurang Plate of Daṇḍimahādevī; Year 187

- Provenance* : Ghantasila near Kumurang and Banpur, Puri District.
Reference : 1. H. Pandey, *JBORS*, V, 564-581 and Plate.
 2. B. Misra, *OUBK*, 60-67.
Language : Sanskrit, partly in prose and partly in verse.
Metres : Verses 1-4, 14-15 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 5, 7-9, 13 *Vasantatilakā*; v. 6 *Mālinī*; vv. 10-12, 16-19, 21-22 *Anuṣṭubh*; v. 20 *Puṣpitāgrā*.
Script : Eastern variety of North Indian alphabet of about the 10th century A.D.
Date : Year 187, the 13th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Jyeṣṭha.

Text¹**Obverse**

1. सिद्धम्^२ स्वस्ति व्यस्तजलाभ्रविभ्रमधैः श्वेतातपत्रोत्करैरश्वीयश्रुतिचामरैश्च हसित-
व्याकोशकाशोदयैः। उ—
2. ह्यमैम्म(र्म)दसौरभैश्च करिणामाक्षिप्त^३सप्तच्छदामोदैः सन्निहितां सदैव स(श)रदार-
म्भश्री(श्री)^४यम्बि(म्बि)भ्रतः। [१*१]

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1. From the original. The plate is now preserved in the Museum at Baripada in the Mayurbhanj district. The record is also known to scholars as “Banpur Plate of Daṇḍimahādevī”, see *EI*, XXIX, 79.
 2. Expressed by a symbol.
 3. H. Pandey suggests -माक्लिप्त-; The letters have not been formed properly. From line 2 to 7, the letters have been very indifferently incised, in fact, the scribe of the rest of the record seems to be a different person. From the 8th line of the charter upto the end, the scripts are found more deeply and neatly incised. The first line also appears to have been engraved by this person.
 4. य looks like modern Oriya य

3. श्रीगुहेश्वर⁵पाटकनिवासिविजयस्कन्धावारात्॥ सर्वाशापरिपु(पू)रणाधिकरुचि-
र्यस्तापमस्तत्रयन्नानन्दं कृ-
4. तवाञ्जनस्य मनसि प्राप्तप्रतिष्ठञ्चिरम्। सद्दृष्टिप्रतिरोधि येन च तमो निर्मूल-
मुन्मूलितं श्रीमानिन्दुरि-
5. वावनीपतिरभूदुन्मट्टसिंहाह्वयः॥[२*] तद्वंशादभवन्ननिन्दितगुणामुक्तामयाः सद्गताः⁶
सद्गताः सु-
6. खशीतलाः क्षितिभृतः श्रीमद्रयाडादयः॥ (।) ये नीत्वा हृदयप्रतापशमने देवाङ्गनाभिः
स्वयं कण्ठा-
7. श्लेषसुखस्थितिप्रणयिनो हाराभिरामाः कृताः॥[३*] तद्वंशेऽभवदु(दू)र्जितः कृतबु(बु)-
धप्रोतिः प्रतीतोदयो देवः शत्रुबु(व)धू-
8. मुखेन्दुतरणिः श्रीलोणभारो नृपः। यस्याक्रम्य गुरुप्रतापशिखिनः पृथ्वीभृतः प्रोद्ध-
तान्दूरं
9. सर्वदिगन्तरेषु तरसा स्वैरं प्रससुः कराः॥[४*] तस्यात्मजः प्रणतपार्थिवचक्रचूडा-
निर्व्याजरोपि-
10. तपदश्चरितार्थनामा। विस्तारिसौरभगुणोदयपूरिताशस्तस्मादभूत्कुसुमहार⁷ इति
क्षिति(ती)शः॥[५*]
11. अभृत ललितभारः क्षमाभरं भूरितेजास्तदनु तदनुजन्मा व्यूढभोगीन्द्रलीलः। अनयदम-
12. लिमानं यद्यशः पूरमुच्चैरपि रिपुरमणीनामञ्जनोन्मिश्रमश्रु॥[६*] तस्मिन्नुपे दिवमुपेयुषि
13. तत्तनूजः शास्तावनेरजनि शान्तिकराभिधानः। येनोद्धृतेष्वखिलदुर्मदकण्टकेषु रेमे
य-
14. थासुखमपास्तभिया जनेन॥[७*] तस्य प्रशस्यचरितार्जितभूरिकीर्तेर्विश्वम्भराविभुर-
भूदनुजस्ततो-
15. पि। श्रेयोभिरेकदमित्यखिलैः श्रितात्मा यः श्रीशुभाकर इति प्रथितो यथार्थम्॥[८*]
तस्य त्रिपि(वि)-
16. ष्टपजुषः परमेश्वरस्य देवी समस्तजनतानतपादपद्मा। सिंहासनं शशिकरामल-
कीर्ति-
17. गौरी गौरीव गौरवपदं चिरमध्यरोहत्॥[९*] ततो दण्डिमहादेवी सुता तस्या
महीयसी। महीम-

5. The letter पा has not been formed properly.

6. Read सङ्गता

7. The Ganjam (No.17) and the Sāntiragrāma (No.16) grants of Daṇḍimahādevī read भार, but हार is clearly written in this charter.

18. हीनसामर्थ्या चिरकालमपालयत्॥[१०*] अविच्छिन्नायतिप्रांशौ वंशे करमहीभृताम्।
चिह्न(ह)भूता पताके—
19. व या व(ब)भूव विभूषणम्॥[११*] लावण्यामृतनिःष्यन्द⁸सुन्दरं दधती वपुः। या
राजचन्द्रलेखेव विलसत्कीर्ति—
20. चन्द्रिका॥[१२*] तस्याः प्रतापनतदुर्मदशत्रुभूपनेत्राम्बु(म्बु)धौतनवयावकमण्डनापि।
पादाम्बु(म्बु)जद्युतिरत—
21. कीर्ति⁹मन्वरञ्जिमञ्जीरलग्नकुर(रु)विन्ददलोरुभासा॥[१३*] उद्यानेषु¹⁰ शिलीमुखा-
वलिरवो हारेषु मुक्तास्थि—
22. तिर्दोषासङ्गरुचिस्तुषारकिरणे विज्ञेषु सद्देषता। राहौ तीक्ष्णकरग्रहः कुमणिषु त्रासोदयः
केवलं

Reverse

23. कान्ताकु[न्त]लसन्ततौ कुटिलता यस्याः प्रभुत्वे भुवि॥[१४*] रम्या लोकोत्सुकित-
नयना[न*]न्दपीयूषवर्तिः सेवास—
24. कक्षिपिपतिसभापद्मिनी राजहंसी। काले योष्मग्लपितसुकृतालम्ब(म्ब)नस्व-
ण्ण(ण्ण)यष्टिः¹¹ सा निःशेषप्रण—
25. यिसुमनोनन्दनोद्यानलक्ष्मीः॥[१५*] परममाहेश्वरी मातापितृपादानुध्याता परम-
भट्टारिका महाराजा—
26. धिराजपरमेश्वरी श्रीमद्दण्डिमहादेवी कुशलिनी।¹² दक्षिणतोसलायां वर्तमानभविष्य-
न्महा—
27. सामन्तमहाराजराजपुत्रान्तरङ्गकुमारामात्यौपरिकरिक¹³विषयपतितदायुक्तकदाण्ड-
पाशिकस्थानान्त—
28. रिकानन्यानपि राजप्रसादिनश्चाटभटवल्लभजातीयान् कुङ्गदमण्डले खिडिङ्गहार-
विषये महाम—
29. हत्तरवृ(बृ)हद्भोगिपुस्तकपालकुटकोलसाद्यधिकरणं यथार्हं मानयति वो(बो)धयति
समाज्ञापयति॥¹⁴

8. Read निःस्पन्द.

9. The Sāntiragrāma grant of Daṇḍimahādevī reads -रनन्तरम्-

10. Pandey reads उद्यानेषु

11. The Sāntiragrāma grant reads यष्टिर्या-

12. The punctuation is superfluous.

13. रिक written twice, the second is redundant.

14. The punctuation is superfluous.

30. [च*] विदितमस्तु भवतामेतद्विषयसम्ब(म्ब)द्धः कं¹⁵न्सरानगरिग्रामः वासिंलीच्छेद श(स)न्धितः¹⁶ स(सो)परिकरः
31. सोद्देशः सतन्त्र(न्तु)वायगोकुटशौण्डिकादिप्रकृतिकः सखेटघटनदीतरस्थानादिगुल्मकः सर्व्वपी—
32. डावर्जितोऽलेखनीप्रवेशतया भूमिच्छिद्रापिधानन्यायेनाचन्द्रार्कक्षितिसमकालं मातापित्रोरा—
33. त्मनः सर्व्वसत्त्वा(त्त्वा)नां [च*] पुण्याभिवृद्धये भारद्वाज अ(आ)दि नानागोत्रेभ्यः[*] कका।¹⁷ दुगड।¹⁷ वाङ्कुल्लम्बौवावा।¹⁷ इ(ई)—
34. स्व(श्व)र।¹⁷ सर्व्वदेव।¹⁷ वाङ्गेश्वर।¹⁷ एभिः(भ्यः) ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणेभ्यः[*] द्वादसी(शी)- वेलायां हस्तोदकेनास्माभिस्ताम्रशा—
35. सनीकृत्याक्षयनीवीधर्मणाकरत्वेन प्रतिपादितः। तदेषास्मद्धर्मगौरवाद्भवद्भिः परिपा—
36. लनीया। सम्वत् १००.८०.७¹⁸ जे(ज्ये)ष्ट(ष्ठ) शुदि १३[*] उक्तञ्च धर्मशास्त्रे। व(ब)हुभिर्वसुध(धा) दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः[*]
37. यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम्॥[१६*] मा भूदफलशङ्का वः परदत्तेति पार्थिवाः। स्वदानात्फ—
38. लमानन्त्यं परदत्तानुपालने॥[१७*] स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा(त्तां वा) यो हरेत वसुन्धराम्। स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः
39. सह पच्यते॥[१८*] व(ब)हुनात्र किमुक्तेन संक्षेपादिदमुच्यते। स्वल्पमायुश्चला भोगा धर्मो लोकद्वयं(य) क्षमः॥[१९*] इ—
40. ति कमलदलाम्बु(म्बु)विन्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च। अखिलमिद- मुदाहृतञ्च वु(बु)द्ध्वा न हि
41. पुरुषैः¹⁹ परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः॥[२०*] यावत्पातालभूस्वर्गाः सभुजङ्गनरामराः। श्रीमद्दण्डिमहादेव्यास्ताव—
42. च्छासनमस्त्वदम्॥[२१*] प्रशस्तिः शस्तवचसा कविनेह महाकवेः। कृता जम्भल²⁰- नाम्नेयमात्मजेन जयात्मनः॥[२२*]
43. महाक्षपटलाधिकृतराणकश्रीभूषणनागः। महाक्षपटलिकभोगिपद्मसेनः। उत्कीर्णं दामोदरेण

15. The *anusvāra* sign is redundant.

16. The intended reading is सहितः

17. The mark for punctuation is redundant. Its use after the name of each donee seems to have been intended for distinguishing one from the other.

18. Pandey reads the numerals as 300.80.7.

19. Pandey reads पुरुषैः

20. Pandey reads जम्भण

44. देवदत्त(त्त)स्य पुत्रेण॥ ग्रामः प्रसिद्धकालेम्बुर²¹वृक्ष एकताल शोट्टै²²वन्ध समुद्रकर-
वन्ध्वः(न्धः) पु(पू)र्व्वे सेतु पश्चिमे पयाड
45. एते²³ सि(सी)मा पर्यन्तः²⁴ ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणेभ्य(भ्यो) दत्तः॥ सिद्धम्²⁵[।*]

Abstract of Contents

The charter begins with a symbol for *siddham* and the word *svasti* which actually forms part of the verse describing the place of issue of the charter, named *Guheśvarapāṭaka*, the name being mentioned in a short prose passage in line 3 after the verse. Verse 2 describes the king named Unmattasimha. Verse 3 introduces the illustrious kings of his family, such as Gayāḍa and others who were born in this lineage. Verse 4 states that a king named Loṇabhāra was born in this family. Verse 5 describes his son named Kusumahāra and verse 6 introduces Lalitabhāra as the brother of Kusumahāra. Verse 7 introduces Śāntikara as the son of Lalitabhāra. Verse 8 states that Śāntikara had a younger brother named Śubhākara. Verse 9 describes the queen of Śubhākara as Gaurī who ascended the throne after her husband. Verses 10-15 describe her illustrious daughter Daṇḍimahādevī, the reigning queen who ascended the throne of the Kara family after her mother. These verses are followed by a long prose passage in lines 25-36, recording the details of the grant made by the reigning queen *Daṇḍimahādevī* who has been styled as *Paramamāheśvarī*, *Paramabhaṭṭārikā* and *Mahārājā-dhirāja-parameśvarī* and devoted to her parents. She is stated to have issued order relating to the grant, addressing the present and future administrators and officials of Dakṣiṇa Tosalā such as *Mahāsāmantas*, *Mahārājas*, *Rājaputras*, *Antaraṅgas*, *Kumārāmātyas*, *Uparikas*, *Viśayapatis*, *Tadāyuktakas*, *Dāṇḍapāśikas*, *Sthānāntarikas* and other royal beneficiaries including the *cāṭas*, *bhaṭas*, and the *vallabha* categories. Then the charter continues to record that the royal order was also addressed to the officials belonging to the *viśaya* (district) of Khidiṅgahāra, situated in Kuṅgoda-maṇḍala (Koṅgoda-maṇḍala), such as *Mahāmahattara*,

21. B. Misra reads काले[स्व]र॥; Pandey reads काले[म्ब]र॥, but there is no punctuation mark after the word.
22. B. Misra reads शोट्ट; Pandey reads शो[ट्ट]. The expression seems to be the name of the embankment.
23. Read एतत्
24. The punctuation is superfluous.
25. Expressed by a symbol. B. Misra has overlooked the symbol.

Bṛhadbhogin, *Pustakapāla* and *Kuṭakolasa* along with their assistants. The royal order states that the village named *Kaṁsarānagarī* together with the part of the locality called *Vāsimli-cheda* have been granted along with the rights of collecting *uparikara* (additional or unfixed taxes), *uddeśa* (the space above the ground), rights over the weavers, the herdsmen, the distillers nad other artisans and with the hamlets, landing places, ferries and outposts etc., in favour of the Brāhmaṇas of Bhāradvaja and other *gotras*. The donees are named as *Kakā*, *Dugaḍa*, *Vāṅkulla*, *Vauvavā*, *Īśvara*, *Sarvvadeva* and *Vāṅgeśvara*. The grant is said to have been made free from encroachments, for accruing religious merit for the queen, her parents and all other creatures and according to the maxim called *bhūmi-chidra-pidhāna-nyāya*, which is to continue as long as the sun, the moon and the earth exist. It has been made by means of a copper-plate charter in accordance with the established principle of *akṣaya-nivī* and made free from taxes. The donor's advice that out of respect to religion, the grant should be preserved, is mentioned in line 35. Line 36 records the date of the grant as the year 187, the 13th day of the bright fortnight of the month of *Jyeṣṭha*. This is followed by five of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. These are followed by another verse praying for the permanence of the charter issued by the reigning queen *Daṇḍimahādevī* as long as the nether world, the earth and the heaven which contain respectively the serpents, the human beings and the gods, would endure. This is followed by a verse (22) which records that the eulogy in brief has been composed by the great poet *Jambhala*, the son of *Jayātman*. Lines 43-44 record the names of the officers associated with the execution of the charter. *Rāṇaka* *Bhūṣaṇanāga* acted as the *Mahākṣapaṭalādhikṛta* and *Padmasena*, the *Bhogin*, as the *Mahākṣapaṭalika*. The charter is stated to have been engraved by *Dāmodara*, the son of *Devadatta*. Lines 44-45 record the boundaries of the gift village, donated to the Brāhmaṇas, being bounded by the well known *Kālemvura* tree,²⁶ *Ekatāla* (one palm tree), *Śoṭṭrai-vandha*, *Samudra-kara-vandha*,²⁷ in the east by the bridge and in the west by *Payāda*.²⁸

26. B. Misra takes the name to be a village.

27. The expression may indicate the embankment by the side of the sea.

28. This may be the name of a locality or a rank.

No. 21

A Grant of Vakulamahādevī; Year 204

- Provenance* : Not known.
- Reference* : 1. *AREP*, 1964-65, No.A.35.
2. P.R. Srinivasan, *EI*, XXXVI, 307-312 and Plate.
- Language* : Sanskrit, partly in prose and partly in verse.
- Metres* : Verses 1-4, 15-16 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, vv. 5,7-9, 14 *Vasantatilakā*; v. 6 *Mālini*; vv. 10-13, 17-20, 22-23 *Anuṣṭubh*; v. 21 *Puṣpitāgrā*.
- Script* : Eastern variety of North Indian alphabet of about 10th century A.D.
- Date* : Year 204, the 5th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Vaiśākha.

Text¹

Obverse

1. सिद्धम्²[।*] स्वस्ति व्यस्तजलाभ(भ्र)विभ्रमहरैः³ श्वेतात्प(तप)त्रोत्करैरश्वीयुश्रुति-
चामरै[श्च] ह्र(ह)सि[त*]व्याकोष(शे)काशेदयै[।*]
2. उद्दामैर्मदसौरभैश्च करिणामाक्षिप्तसप्तच्छदामोदैस्सन्निहि[तां स]दैव शरदारम्भश्रियं
वि(बि)भ्रतः॥[१*] श्रीगुहेश्वरपा—
3. [ट] क निवासिविजयस्कन्धासा(वा)रात्॥ सर्वाशापरिपूरणाधिकरुचिर्यस्तापमस्त-
त्रयंना(यन्ना)नन्द(न्दं) कृतवाञ्जनस्य⁴ मनसि प्राप्त—
4. प्रतिष्ठं चिरं(रम्)। सद्दृष्टिप्रतिरोधि येन च तमो निर्मूलमुन्मूलितं(तम्)⁵ श्रीमा-
निन्दू(न्दु)रिवावनीपतिरभूदुन्मत्तसिंहाह्वयः॥[२*]

1. From the facsimile in *EI*, XXXVI, between pages 310-311.

2. Expressed by a symbol.

3. The grants of Daṇḍimahādevī read धैः excepting the Ganjam grant (A), No.17.

4. Read कृतवाञ्जनस्य

5. The punctuation is superfluous.

5. तद्वंशादभवन्ननिन्दितगुणा मुक्तामया[*] सङ्गताः⁶ सद्गताः सुखशीतलाः क्षितिभृतः श्रीमद्गयाडादयः[*] ये नि(नी)त्वा हृद—
6. योग्र⁸तापस(श)मने देवाङ्गनाभि[*] श्व(स्व)यं कण्ठाश्लेषसुखस्थितिप्रणयिनो हाराभिरामाः कृताः॥[३*] तद्वंसे(शे)भवदूर्जित कृतवु(बु)—
7. धः(ध)प्रीतिः प्रति(ती)तोदयो देवः शत्रुवधूमुखेन्दुतरणिः श्रीलोणभारो नृपः[*] यस्याक्रम्य गुरुप्रतापशिखिनः पृ—
8. श्वीभृतः प्रोद्धतां(तान्) दूरं सर्वदिगन्तरेषु तरसा स्वैरं प्रश(स)श्रुः(सुः) करा[*]॥[४*] तस्यात्मजः प्रणतपार्थिवचक्रचूडानिर्व्याजरो—
9. पितपदश्चरितार्थनामा। विस्तरिशौ(सौ)रभगुणोदयपूरिताशस्तस्मादभूत्कुसुमभार इति क्षितीशः॥[५*] अ—
10. भृने(त) ललितभारः क्ष्माभरं भूरितेजास्तदनु तदनुजन्मा व्यूढभोगीन्द्रलीलः।
11. आ(अ)नयदमली(लि)मानु(नं) यद्द्य(द्य)सः(शः) पूरमुच्चैरपि रिपुरमणीनामंजनोन्मिश्र-मश्र(श्रु)॥[६*]
12. तस्मिन्पे दिवमुपेयुषि तत्तनूजः सा(शा)स्तावनेरजनि सा(शा)न्तिकराभिधानः। येनोद्धते—
13. प्खिलदुम्म(र्म्म)दकण्टकेषु रेमे यथासुखमपास्तभिया जनेन॥[७*] तस्य प्रशस्यचरि—
14. तार्ज्जितभूरिकीर्तिविश्वम्भराविभुरभूदनुजस्ततोपि। श्रेयोभिरेकपदमित्य—
15. खिलैः श्रितात्मा यः श्रीशुभाकर इति प्रथितो यथार्थम्॥[८*] तस्य त्रिपि(वि)ष्ट-पजुष—
16. : परमेश्वरस्य देवी समस्तजनतानतपादपद्मा। सिंहासनं शशिकरामलकी[र्ति]—
17. गौरी गौरीव गौरवपदं चिरमध्यरोहत्॥[९*] ततो दण्डिमहादेवी सुता तस्या महीयसी[*]
18. महीमहीनसामर्थ्या चिरकालमपालयत्॥[१०*] तस्याः सपत्नजननी ततो राज्यम-पालयत्।
19. श्रीवकुलमहादेवी धर्म्मात्रीतिरिवाक्षता॥[११*] अविच्छिन्नायतिप्रांशौ वंसे(वंशे) भञ्जमहीभृता[म्]। चिह्न—

6. The Ganjam grant (B) of Daṇḍimahādevī (No.18) read सङ्गता, but it should be सङ्गता or संगता.

7. Both the Ganjam grants of Daṇḍimahādevī (Nos.17 and 18) read नीता and the Sāntiragrāma grant of the same queen (No.16) read यान्नीत्वा

8. The Sāntiragrāma (No.16) and the Kumurang (No.20) plates of Daṇḍimahādevī read प्रताप.

20. भूता पताकेव या व(ब)भूव विभूषण[म्]॥[१२*] लावण्यामृतनिष्यन्दसुन्दरं [द]धती वपुः। या राजच्चन्द्रले—
 21. लेखेव विल[स*]त्कीर्तिचन्द्रिका⁹॥[१३*] तस्या[:*] प्रतापनतदुर्मदशत्रुभूपनेता(त्रा)-
 म्बु(म्बु)धौतनवयावकमण्डनापि¹⁰[।*] प(पा)दाम्बु(म्बु)ज—
 22. द्युतिरतर्कित¹¹मन्वरज्जि(ज्जी) मज्जिरसक्तकुरुविन्ददलोरुभासा॥[।*१४] उद्यानेषु
 शिलीमुखावली(लि)रवे(वो) हारेषु
 23. मुक्तास्थितिर्दोषासङ्गरुचिस्तुषारकिरणे विज्ञेषु सद्देषता। राहौ तीक्ष्णकरग्रहः कुम—
 24. णिषु त्रासोदयः [केवलं] कान्ताकुन्तलसन्ततौ कुटिलता यस्याः प्रभुत्वे भुवि॥[१५*]
 रम्यालो—

Reverse

25. कोत्सुकितनयनानन्दपि(पी)यूषवर्तिः सेवासक्तक्षितिपतिसभापद्मिनीराज-
 हन्सी(हंसी)[।*] कालेयो—
 26. ष्मग्लपितसुकृतालम्ब(म्ब)नस्व[र्ण*]यष्टिर्या निःशेषप्रणयिसुमनोनन्दनोद्यान-
 लक्ष्मीः॥[१६*] परममा—
 27. हेश्वरी मातापितृपादानुध्याता परमभट्टारिका महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरी श्रीवकुल-
 महा—
 28. देवी कुशलिनी॥ उत्तरस्य(स्यां) तोसलायां वर्तमानभविष्यन्महासामन्तमहाराज[राज*]
 पुत्रान्तरङ्गकुमारा[मा]—
 29. त्यौपरिक¹³विषयपतितदायुक्त[क*] द(दा)ण्डपाशिकस्थानान्तरिकानन्यानपि
 राजप्रसादिनश्चाटभटवल्लभजाती—
 30. यान(न्) श्रवण[क]तिकाविषये कलहित¹⁴सामन्तसामवाजिवृ(बृ)हद्भोगिपुस्तक-
 पालकूट्य(ट)कोलसाद्यधि—
 31. करणं यथार्हम्मानयति वो(बो)धयति समाज्ञापयति[।*] विदितमस्तु भवताम्।
 [उ]रेगोडुखण्ड[स्य]

9. This second part of the verse is found to have been omitted in the Ganjam grant (A) of Daṇḍimahādevī (No.17).

10. The Sāntiragrāma grant of Daṇḍimahādevī (No.16) reads मण्डनानि.

11. The Sāntiragrāma grant of Daṇḍimahādevī reads अनन्तरम्

12. The Sāntiragrāma grant of Daṇḍimahādevī reads लग्न

13. Read त्यौपरिक

14. The Taltali plate of Dharmamahādevī reads दलहित which may denote the 'chief of army'. The intended reading in the present plate seems to be दलहित.

32. प्रतिव(ब)द्धछोडात[वुत्सा]ग्रामः मेरमौ¹⁵ खण्डक्षेत्रः¹⁶ सपरिकरः¹⁷ सोद्देशः सतन्तु-
 33. वायः गोकूटशौण्डिकादिप्रकृतिकः सखेटघट्टत्र¹⁸ स्थानादिगुल्मक[*] सर्व्वपीडा-
 34. वर्ज्जितोऽलेखनीप्रवेशितया भूमिच्छिद्रापिधानन्यायेन चन्द्रावर्कक्षितिसमकालं मा-
 35. तापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये वत्सस्स(स)गोत्राय भार्गवच्यवन¹⁹ आप्नवऔर्वजा-
 36. मदग्नि(ग्न्य)प्रवराय ¹⁹आश्लायन²⁰शाखाप्राध्यायिने शावस्थदेशविनिर्गताय
 का[न्ते]डग्रा-
 37. मवास्तव्याय भट्टपुत्रनीलकण्ठस्य सुत मीहधीचाय²¹ जिवांग्रण²² विसुह²³वेलायां
 38. ताम्ब्र(म्र)शासनि(नी)गृहित्वा²⁴क्षयनिधि²⁵धर्मेणाकरत्वेन प्रतिपादितः तदेषास्म-
 द्धर्म-
 39. गौरवाद्भवद्भिः परिपालनीयः(या)। सम्वत् २००.०.²⁶४ वैसा(शा)ख वदि ५[*]
 उक्तञ्च धर्मशास्त्रेषु[*]
 40. व(ब)हुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजद्भिः(भिः) सगरादिभिः[*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि[स्*]
 तस्य तदा फलम्[॥*१७] मा
 41. भूय(द)फलशङ्का वः परदत्तेति पार्थिवः(वाः)[*] स्वदत्तात्पा(त्फ)लमानन्त्यं पर-
 दत्तानू(नु)पालने॥[१८*] स्वदत्ताम्प-
 42. रदत्ताम्वा²⁷ यो हरेत वसुन्धराम्[*] स विष्ठायां कृमिभूत्वा पितृभिस्सह
 पच्यते॥[१९*] व(ब)हुनात्र किमुक्तेन

15. P.R. Srinivasan reads मै[र]मौ doubtfully.

16. P.R. Srinivasan reads खण्डको[पे*]तः

17. The intended reading is सोपरिकरः, meaning 'additional' or 'unfixed taxes'.

18. Read -घट्टनदीतरस्थानादि-

19. *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

20. Read आश्वलायन.

21. The intended reading may be महीधराय.

22. The intended reading may be जीवन्मरण to denote till the death of the donee.

23. Read विषुव-

24. Read कृत्या

25. Read नीवि as in the other grants of the dynasty.

26. The sign of cypher used here after the symbol for 200, in the tenth place, according to the decimal system, would tend to suggest that this system was also prevalent in the area and the scribe was aware of its use. He seems to have incised the cypher carelessly along with the symbols.

27. Read स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा

43. संक्षेपादिदमुच्यते॥(१) स्वल्पमायुश्चला भोगा²⁸ धर्मो लोकद्वये क्षमः॥[*२०] इति कमलदलाम्बु(म्बु)वि—
44. न्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्द्य(न्त्य) मनुष्यजीवितञ्च[*]²⁹ बु(बु)द्ध्वा न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः॥[२१*] याव—
45. त्पातालभूस्वर्गास्सभुजङ्गनरामराः॥(१) श्रीवकुलमहादेव्यास्तावच्छाश(स)नमस्त्विदम्॥[२२*] प्र—
46. शस्तिः शस्तवचसा कविनेह महाकवेः[*] कृत्वा(ता) जम्भलनाम्नैषा जयात्मजेन³⁰॥[*२३] महाक्षप—
47. टलाधिकृतराणकश्रीइन्द्र³¹स्य[*] उत्कीर्ण(र्ण) कुमारकेण[*] ग्राम[*] प्रसिद्धचतुःसि(सी)मा पय(र्य)न्त[:] श्री[*]॥

Abstract of Contents

The charter begins with the symbol for *siddham* and the word *svasti*. From is part of the following a verse 1 describing the chief city the name of which is given in the accompanying short prose passage. Verses 2-10 of the record are the same as those in the Sāntiragrāma grant of Daṇḍimahādevī (No. 16), describing the Bhauma-Kara family up to the reign of Daṇḍimahādevī. Verse 11 introduces the reigning queen *Vakulamahādevī* who has been described as the step-mother of Daṇḍimahādevī and who is stated to have issued the present charter. Verse 12 states that she hailed from the Bhañja family. Verses 13-16 describe her qualities and achievements. Then a prose passage describing the reigning queen *Vakulamahādevī* as *Paramamāheśvarī*, *Paramabhaṭṭārikā* and *Mahārājādhirāja-prarmēśvarī* and devoted at the feet of their parents. Lines 28-29 record that the royal order relating to the grant was addressed to the present and future administrators and offices such as *Mahāsāmantas*, *Mahārājas*, *Rājaputras*, *Antaraṅgas*, *Kumārāmātyas*, *Uparikas*, *Viṣayapatis*, *Tadāyuktakas*, *Dāṇḍapāśikas*, *Sthānāntarikas* and other royal beneficiaries such as the *cāṭas*, the *bhaṭas* and the *vallabha* categories of Uttara Tosalā.

28. The punctuation is superfluous.

29. The passage reading सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च has been omitted here due to inadvertance.

30. The intended reading is आत्मजेन जयात्मनः

31. *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

Then the charter continues to record in lines 30-31 that the order was also addressed to another list of officials connected with the *viṣaya* (district) of Śravaṇakatikā, such as *Kalahita* (or *Dalahita*)³² *Sāmanta*, *Sāmaṇji*, *Brhadbhogin*, *Pustakapāla*, *Kuṭakolasa* and their assistants. Lines 31-39 record the grant of a plot of land (*khaṇḍa-kṣetra*) called Meramau, located in the village named Choḍātavutsā attached to the division of Uregodḍā-*khaṇḍa* situated in the district of Śravaṇakatikā-*viṣaya* in Uttara Tosalā, by the reigning queen, in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Mīhadhīca (or Mahīdhara), son of Bhaṭṭaputra Nīlakaṇṭha. The donee is stated to have migrated from Śāvastha³⁸ country and to have been a resident of the village of Kānteda. He belonged to Vatsa *gotra* and Bhārgava, Cyavana, Āpnavā (Āpnuvan), Aurva and Jāmadagnya *pravara*s and was a student of Aśvalāyana *sākhā*. The grant is stated to have been made after making it free from all obstructions and along with uparikara (additional or unfixed taxes) and *uddeśa* (the space above the ground) with the rights over the weavers, milkmen, and the vinters and also rights over the *kheṭa* (hamlet), *ghaṭṭa* (harbour), and *naditara-sthāna* (ferry places) and the *gulmakas* (outposts). The grant is further stated to have been made according to the principle of *bhūmi-chidra-pidhāna-nyāya* and according to the custom of *akṣaya-nīvi*, that in future, the grant would not become the subject of entry into another document, reclaiming it as a fallow land. It is said to have granted free of taxes for the increase of merit of the queen and her parents, on the occasion of Viṣuva saṁkrānti. The charter also records that the gift was to be enjoyed by the donee till his death. Line 39 records the date of the grant as the year 204, the 5th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Vaiśākha. Lines 40-44 record five of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. Lines 44-45 state that this grant of *Vakulamahādevī* is to continue till netherlands, the earth and the heaven which contain respectively the serpents, the human beings and the gods would exist. Lines 45-47 record the names of the officers associated with the execution of the charter. The *praśasti* recorded in the charter is stated to have been composed by the great poet Jambhala, son

32. The term seems to be the same as *Dalavāya* often found in the early medieval inscriptions, denoting a military designation of lower rank.

33. This evidently denotes the region called Śrāvastī which is generally taken to have been located in the Hili-Balurghat region of North Bengal, though there was originally another Śrāvastī in Uttar Pradesh. D.C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India* (Delhi, 1971), 297-298.

of Jayātman. The officer designated as *Mahākṣapaṭalādhikṛta* was *Rāṇaka Śrī-Indra*.³⁴ The record was engraved by Kumāraka. The gift village is said to have been granted with the well defined four boundaries.

34. This officer seems to be the *dūtaka* or the executor of the grant as suggested by P.R. Srinivasan.

No. 22

Angul Copper-Plate Grant of Dharmamahādevī

- Provenance** : Santri¹ near Angul, Dhenkanal District.
Reference : 1. Priyatosh Banerjee, *JASB* (Letters), XVII (No.3), 245-250 and Plates.
 2. B. Misra *OUBK*, 52-56.
Language : Sanskrit, partly in prose and partly in verse.
Metres : Verses 1-4 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 5, 7 *Vasantatilakā*; v. 6 *Mālinī*; vv. 8-10 *Anuṣṭubh*.
Script : Eastern variety of North Indian alphabet of about the 10th century A.D.
Date : Undated.

Text²**Obverse**

1. सिद्धम्³ स्वस्ति[*] व्यस्तजलाभ्रविभ्रमधरोः(रैः) श्वेतातपत्रोत्करैरश्वीयैः श्रुतिचा⁴—
2. मरैश्च हसितव्याकोषकाशोदयैः[*] उद्दामैर्मदसोरभैश्चकरिणामाक्षि—
3. प्तसप्तच्छदामोदैः सन्निहिताम्(तां) सदैव शरदारम्भश्रियम्वि⁵भ्रतः॥[*] श्रीगुहेश्व—
4. रपाटकावासितविजयस्कन्धावा[रा*]त्⁶[*] सर्वाशापरिपूरिताधिक⁷रुचिर्य—
स्तापम—

-
1. The locality is same as the gift village mentioned in the Sāntiragrāma grant of Daṇḍimahādevī (No.16).
 2. From the facsimile in *JASB* (Letters), XVII, No.3.
 3. Expressed by a symbol.
 4. Read -रश्वीयश्रुतिचाम- as in the grants of Daṇḍimahādevī and Vakulamahādevī.
 5. Read श्रियं बिभ्रतः॥
 6. Banerjee reads स्कन्धाभा(वा)रात॥
 7. Misra reads परिपूरणाधिक which is also the reading of the grants of Daṇḍimahādevī; the Taltali plate of Dharmamahādevī reads पूरिताधिक

5. स्तत्रयन्नानन्दं⁸ कृतवान(न्) जनस्य मन्द(न)सि⁹ प्राप्तप(प्र)तिष्ठश्चिरां(रम्)[*]¹⁰ सदृष्टि—
6. प्रतिरोधि येन च तमो निर्मूलमुन्मूलितम्¹¹(तं) श्रीमानी(नि)न्दुरिवावनी—
7. पतिरभूदु[न्म*]दृसिङ्गा¹²ह्वयः॥[२*] तद्वङ्शा¹³द भवन्ननिन्दितगुणा मु—
8. कामयाः सङ्गताः सदृता[*]¹⁴ सुखशीतलाः क्षितिभृतः श्री—
9. मदयाडादयः। ये नीत्वा¹⁵ हृदयप्रताप¹⁶शमने देवाङ्गनाभि—
10. : स्वयम्(यं) कण्ठाश्लेषसुखस्थितिप्रणयिनो हाराभिरामाः कृता—
11. :[॥*३] तद्वङ्शे¹⁷भवदूर्जितः कृतवु(बु)धप्रीति[:] प्रतीतोदयो देवः शत्रुवधूमु—
12. खेन्दुतरणिः श्रीलोणभारो¹⁸ नृपः। यस्याक्रम्य गुरुप्रतापशिनः¹⁹—
13. खिनः पृथ्वीभृतः प्रोद्धता[न्*] दूर[*]²⁰ यस्य दिगन्तरेषु तरसा स्मै(स्वै)रम्(रं) प्रससुः

Reverse

14. कराः[॥*४] तस्यात्मजः प्रणत²¹पार्थिवचक्रचु(चू)डानिर्व्याजरोपितपदश्चरि²²तार्थ—
15. नामा[*] विस्तारिसौरभगुणो[द*]यपूरितास(श)स्तस्या(स्मा)दभूत्कुसुमहार²³ इति
16. क्षतीशः²⁴॥[५*] अभृत ललितहारः क्षमाभरम्भूरितेजास्तदनु तदनुजन्मा

-
8. Misra reads त्रयन्नानन्दं
 9. Banerjee reads सदसि and suggests to read मनसि as found in the grants of Daṇḍimahādevī to suit the context better.
 10. The single *daṇḍa* after रं looks like the medial *ā mātrā* of this letter.
 11. Misra reads मुन्मीलितं
 12. Read सिंहा—
 13. Read वंशाद—
 14. Misra reads सदृताः
 15. The records of Daṇḍimahādevī read यात्रीत्वा and often ये नीता; the grant of Vakulamahādevī reads ये नीत्वा
 16. The Ganjam and Kumuranga plates of Daṇḍimahādevī and that of Vakulamahādevī have हृदयोग्रताप—
 17. Read द्वंशे—
 18. Banerjee reads हारो, but भारो is clear.
 19. This letter and the *visarga* are redundant.
 20. Misra reads प्रोद्धतान्दुरं
 21. ण with a top *mātrā* looks like श
 22. Banerjee suggests पदस्—
 23. Banerjee reads भार, but हार is clearly written.
 24. Read क्षितीशः

17. व्यूढभोगीन्द्रलीलः। अनयदभलिमानं त(य)द्यशः पु(पू)रमुच्चैरपि रिपु—
18. रमणीनामञ्जनोन्मिश्रमश्रु॥[६*] तस्मिन्नृपे दिवमुपेयुषि तत्त—
19. नुजः(नूजः) शास्तावन(ने)रजनी(नि)²⁵ शान्ती(न्ति)कराभिधानः। येनोद्धृतेष्वखिल—
20. दुर्मदकण्टकेषु रेमे यथासुखमपास्तभिया जनेन॥[७*] श्री²⁶
21. श्रीद्ध(ध)र्ममहादेव्याः मातापित्रोरात्मनर्च(श्च)²⁷ पुन्या(ण्या)भिवृद्धयेः॥²⁸
22. कोलाञ्चविनिर्गतेः²⁹ शाण्डिल्यस्यगोत्रायः³⁰ वारिर्हस्पत्य³¹ य(ज)—
23. मदग्निदौवल्लय³² त्रियारिषयप्रवरायः³³ भट्टअतिहरस्य प्र³⁴—
24. पौत्राय वितेभट्टस्य³⁵ पुत्राय श्रीधरभट्टस्य³⁶ संक्रान्तीवेलाय³⁷ शा—
25. सनं कृत्यः³⁸ शाकेम्वाग्रामे ताम्रशासनः(नं) देशलग(ग्रा)म दस(श)म(मा)—

25. Misra reads -रजनि

26. The letter is redundant. The word has been repeated, but Misra reads only one. The verses introducing the predecessors of the donatrix have been abruptly ended after introducing Śāntikara, but the Taltali plate of the same queen continues upto Vakulamahādevī.

27. Misra reads रात्म[नां*]च. The record, up to line 20, seems to have been copied from another record of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty, presumably from one of the records of Daṇḍimahādevī, as the rest of the charter is found to have been very carelessly written. It differs in respect of the usual drafting of the grant portion from other records of the family. The epithets for the queen and the expression कुशलिनी are wanting in this record.

28. The *visarga* and the *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

29. Read विनिर्गताय

30. Read शाण्डिल्यसगोत्राय

31. The reading intended is बार्हस्पत्य, but the *pravaras* of the Śāṇḍilya *gotra* and Śāṇḍilya, Asita and Devala.

32. Read दैवल्य

33. Read त्र्यार्षेयप्रवराय

34. Misra reads आर्त्तिहरस्य; the letter प्र is redundant.

35. Misra reads नितेभट्टस्य, but वि is clear.

36. Read भट्टाय

37. Read संक्रान्तिवेलायां

38. The *visarga* sign is superfluous. Read शासनीकृत्य.

26. लविभागः³⁹ करत्रिनी(णि) पलरुकः⁴⁰ ॥ प्रती(ति)पादितं धर्मगौरवायः⁴¹
 27. केहूवाखण्डः⁴² स्य(स्व)दत्ता(त्तां) परदत्तानुपानेः यो हरेत वसुन्धरा⁴³ स वी(वि)ष्ठा—

39. Priyatosh Banerjee doubts the expression as to be a mistake for *māna* which is a land measure prevalent in Orissa during the rule of the Imperial Gaṅga and the Gajapati dynasties in the medieval period and continued to the present day, which is equivalent to about 3/5 of an acre. B. Misra reads the expression as दस(श)मश्च त्रिभागः. But the expression माल as given in this charter seems to be a land measure of uncertain area, comprising a high land or a wood near a village reclaimed and made fit for cultivation and habitation. Oriya lexicons give several meanings of this, out of which, the following may be worth noticing in this context :- (1) a table land, (2) an agricultural field, (3) plots of land on the slope of a hill which have been ploughed and levelled and made arable. (See Pūrṇacandra's *Oriya-Bhāṣā-Koṣa*, s.v. *māla*). Among the tribes called the *Śavaras* in Orissa, the word *māla* is prevalent which means a forest tract, a wood near a village. The expression is also found in the records of the contemporary feudatory rulers of the Bhauma-Karas, such as the Tūṅgas of Yamagarttā-maṇḍala, comprising the Talcher-Angul region of the Dhenkanal district in Orissa—see *EI*, XXXIV, 96-104.
40. B. Misra reads करत्रिणीयलरुक and states it to be unintelligible; Banerjee also doubtfully reads करत्रिणी पलरुकः and thinks it to be a vernacular one and tantatively suggests to read it as what B. Misra has read. पल is a name of the unit of weight standard prevalent in early medieval Orissa. According to this system one *pala* of silver or gold metal was regarded equal to 320 *ratis* (see S. Tripathy, *Early and Medieval Coins and Currency System of Orissa*, 27ff.). During early medieval period in Orissa, *pala* very often denoted weight of silver. The expression रुक has been used in the present charter as an abbreviation for रूपक or रूप्यक in Sanskrit. It would thus indicate that 3 *palas* of metallic money in silver was fixed for payment of [annual] tax for the land measuring 10 *mālas*.
41. *Visarga* is superfluous; B. Misra reads गौरवा*]त्
42. The expression seems to denote a locality, but it does not suit the context. The writer possibly, intended to mention it as a mark of the boundary of the gift land.
43. The engraver has wrongly incised two portions of two different verses. The intended reading would be — मा भूदफलशंका वः परदत्तेति पार्थिवाः। स्वदानात्फलमानन्त्यं परदत्तानुपालने॥ [८*], and the first foot of the next verse would be — स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम्।

28. या[] कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते॥[९*] व(ब)हुनात्र किमुक्तेन संक्षेपा-
द(दि)दम(मु)–
29. च्यते⁴⁴[1*]

Abstract of Contents

The inscription begins with a symbol for *siddham* and the word *svasti*. This is followed by a verse describing the chief city or the royal capital, the name of which is stated in a short prose passage after the verse as *Guheśvarapāṭaka*, whence the charter is said to have been issued. The second verse records that there was an illustrious king called Unmaṭṭasimha. Verse 3 records that the king named Gayāḍa and others were born in this family. Verse 4 introduces a king named Loṇabhāra who is stated to have been born in this family. Verse 5 introduces Kusumahāra as the son of Loṇabhāra. Verse 6 describes Lalitahāra as the brother of Kusumahāra, who is stated to have ascended the throne after the death of his brother Kusumabhāra. Verse 7 introduces Śāntikara as the son of Lalitahāra who is stated to have succeeded his father as the king. This verse is followed by a prose passage in lines 21-26 recording the grant of 10 *mālas* of land in the village of Deśala, by means of a copper-plate grant, for the increase of merits of *Dharmamahādevī*, the reigning queen and of her parents.⁴⁵ The grant is stated to have been made on the occasion of a *Samkrānti* day, in favour of the *Brāhmaṇa* named Śrīdhara-*bhaṭṭa*, son of Vite-*bhaṭṭa* and grandson of *bhaṭṭa* Atihara, who belonged to Śāṇḍilya *gotra*, having three *pravaras*, viz., Bārhaspatya, Jāmadagnya and Devala,⁴⁶ and who migrated from Kolāṅca. The tax⁴⁷ for the granted land is stated to have been fixed

44. The letters have been inserted at the middle of the line 29 below the word सह. The second foot of this verse has been omitted due, perhaps, to the want of space, which should have been – स्वल्पमायुश्चला भोगा धर्मो लोकद्वये क्षमः [11*१०]

45. The charter does not clearly record that the royal declaration in respect of the grant was made by the reigning queen Dharmamahādevī. The language of the grant portion is very carelessly written in corrupt Sanskrit with local Prakrit influence.

46. See note 30.

47. Presumably it has been intended to denote the annual tax fixed for the granted land.

at 3 *palas* of (silver) *ruka* or *rūpaka*.⁴⁸ Line 27 records the name of a locality called *Kehuvā-khaṇḍa*, perhaps intended to denote one of the boundaries of the granted land. lines 27-29 record two of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses written inadvertently.

48. According to the ancient Indian *Smṛti* texts, which were very often followed by the early medieval ruling authorities in administrative affairs, 320 *ratīs* were calculated as equal to 1 *pala* of that metal, so that 3 *palas* were equal to 960 *ratīs* or 12 silver coins, each weighing 80 *ratīs* : See D.C. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, Delhi (1968), 51-52.

No. 23**Taltali Plate of Dharmamahādevī**

- Provenance* : Malisahi near the village Taltali, Dhenkanal District.
Reference : G. Das & K.C. Panigrahi, *IHQ*, XXI (1945), 213-222 and plate.
Language : Sanskrit, partly in prose and partly in verse.
Metres : Verses 1-4, 16-17 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 5, 7-9, 15 *Vasantatilakā*; v. 6 *Mālinī*; vv. 10-14, 18-20 *Anuṣṭubh*.
Script : Eastern variety of North Indian alphabet of about the 10th century A.D.
Date : Not dated.

Text¹**Obverse**

1. सिद्धम्² स्वस्ति³[।*] व्यस्तजलाभ्रविभ्रमधरैः श्वेतातपत्रोत्करैरश्वीयैः⁴ श्रुतिचामरैश्च हसितव्याकोश⁵काशोदयैः[।*]
2. उद्दामैर्म(र्म)दसौरभौ(भै)श्च करिणामाक्षिप्त[सप्त*]च्छदामोदैः सन्निहितां सदैव शरदारम्भश्रियम्बि(म्बि)भ्रतः[॥*१] श्रीगुहे—
3. श्वरपाटकावासितविजयस्कन्धाभा(वा)रात्॥ सर्वाशापरिपूरिताधिक⁶रुचिर्यस्ता-पमस्तन्नयन्नानन्दं कृतवाञ्छ—

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1. From the original; the plate is now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar.
 2. Expressed by a symbol.
 3. The medial *i* has been shown as an angular stroke looking more like a *r* sign above the letter स्ति
 4. Read -रश्वीयश्रुति- as in the grants of Daṇḍimahādevī.
 5. Das and Panigrahi read व्याकोश(ष)-
 6. The Angul plate of Dharmamahādevī also has the same reading.

4. नस्य सदसि⁷ प्राप्तप्रष्टिश्चिरं⁸ ॥ (1) सददृष्टिप्रतिरोधि येन च तमो निर्मूलमुन्मूलितं श्रीमानिन्दुरिवावनि(नी)पति—
5. रभूदुन्मट्टसिङ्हा⁹ ह्वयः ॥ [२*] तद्वंशादभवन्ननिन्दितगुणा¹⁰ मुक्तामयाः सङ्गताः सदृताः सुखशीतलाः[*]
6. क्षितिभृतः श्रीमद्गयाडाद्व(द)यः[*] ये नीत्वा हृदय¹¹ प्रतापशमने देवाङ्गनाभिः स्वयम्¹²(यं) कण्ठाश्ले—
7. षसुखस्थितिप्रणयिनो हाराभिरामाः कृताः ॥ [॥]¹³ [३*] तद्वंशेभवदूर्जितः कृतवु(बु)-धप्रोति[*] प्रतीतो¹⁴ दयो देवः
8. शत्रुवधूमुखेन्दू(न्दु)तरणिः श्रीलोणभारो नृपः ॥ (1) यस्याक्रम्य गुरुप्रतापशिखिनः पृथ्वीभृतः प्रे(प्रो)—
9. द्धता[न्*] दूरं यस्य¹⁵ दिगन्तरेषु तरसा स्वैरं प्रससुः कराः ॥ [४*] तस्यात्मजः प्रणत-पार्थिवचक्रचूडानिर्व्य(व्या)—
10. जरोपितपदश्चरितार्थनामा ॥ (1) विस्तारिसौरभगुणोदयपूरिताङ्श¹⁶ स्तस्मादभूत्कुसुम-भार¹⁷
11. इति क्षितीशः ॥ [५*] अभृत ललितभारः क्षमाभरम्भूरितेजास्तदनु तदनुजन्मा व्यु(व्यू)ढ-भोगीन्द्रली—
12. लः ॥ (1) अनयदमलिमानं त(य)द्यशः पूरमू(मु)च्चैरपि रिपू(पु)रमणीनामज्जनोन्मि-श्रमश्रु ॥ [६*] तस्मिन्—
13. पे दिवमुपेयू(यु)षि तत्तनूजः शास्तावनेरजनि¹⁸ [शा]न्तिकर(रा)भिधानः ॥ (1) येनो-द्धतेष्वखिलदू(दु)र्मदकण्ठ(ण्ट)—

-
7. The grants of Daṇḍimahādevī and Vakulamahādevī read मनसि
 8. Read प्रतिष्ठश्चिरम्।
 9. Read सिंहा-
 10. There is a crack running vertically through the middle from the 4th line up to the end on both sides affecting one letter from each line.
 11. The crack occurs between द and य.
 12. The final *m* is shown as a dot with a curved stroke below it resembling the modern Bengali *anusvāra*; Das and Panigrahi read स्वयं
 13. The crack affects the dauble *dandas*, though they can be made out.
 14. Das and Panigrahi read प्रतीतो(ती)-
 15. The grants of Daṇḍimahādevī and Vakulamahādevī read सर्व-
 16. Read पूरिताशस्त- as in the grants of Daṇḍimahādevī.
 17. The Angul grant of Dharmamahādevī reads हार.
 18. The crack on the plate has affected the letters नि and शा.

14. केषू(षु) रेमे यथासुखमपास्तभिया जनेन॥[७*] तस्य प्रशस्तचरितो(ता)ज्जित-
भूरिकीर्तिर्विश्वम्भरापतिर¹⁹भूदन(नु)--
15. जस्ततोपि॥(१) श्रेयोभिरेकपदमित्यखिलै[:*] श्रितात्मा यः²⁰ श्रीशुभाकर इति प्रथितो
यथार्थम्²¹॥[८*] तस्य त्रिपिष्टप--
16. जुषः परमेश्वरस्य देवी समस्तजनतानतपाद²²पद्मा॥(१) सिद्धासने²³ शशिकरामल-
कीर्ति(र्ति)गौरी गौरी--
17. व वल्लभ²⁴पदज्विरमध्यरोहत(त्)॥[९*] ततो दण्डिमहादेवी सूता तस्या
महीयसी॥(१) महीमहीनसामर्थ्या²⁵ चिर--
18. कालमपालयत(त्)॥[१०*] तस्याः सपत्नजननी ततो [रा*]ज्यमपालयत(त्)॥(१)
श्रीमद्वक्त्र(कु)लमहादेवी धर्मात्रीति--
19. रिवाक्षा(क्ष)ता॥[११*] अविच्छी(च्छ)न्नायतिप्रांशौ वड्शे²⁶ भज्जम[ही]²⁷भृतां(ताम्)।
चिह्नि(ह)भूता पताकेव या व(ब)भूव विभूषण[म्*]॥[१२*]

Reverse

20. ततो धर्ममहादेवी महादेवी महीयसः(सी)॥(१) श्रीभृल्लवणभारस्य भुवस्तलमपाल-
यत(त्)॥[१३*] लावण्यामृतनिष्य--
21. न्दसुन्दरं दधती वपु[:]॥(१) या राजचन्द्रलेखेव विल[स]त्कीर्तिचन्द्रिका॥[१४*]
तस्याः प्रतापनतदुर्मदशत्रुभूष--
22. नेत्राम्बु(म्बु)धौतनवयावकमण्डनापी(पि)॥(१) पादाम्बु(म्बु)जद्युतिरतर्कितमन्वरज्जि
मज्जी(ज्जि)रसक्तकुरुविन्ददलो--
23. रुभासा॥[१५*] उद्यानेषु शिलीमुखावली(ली)रवो [हा]रेषू(षु) मुक्तास्थितिर्दोषा-
सङ्गरुचितस्तुषारकिरणे विज्ञे--

19. The grants of Daṇḍimahādevī and Vakulamahādevī read विभु.

20. The crack runs through यः.

21. Das and Panigrahi read र्थ, but the sign for final *m* is clearly shown on the plate.

22. The crack runs through द.

23. Read सिंहासनं.

24. The grants of Daṇḍimahādevī and Vakulamahādevī read गौरवपदं; read पदं चिर-

25. Das and Panigrahi read मर्या-

26. Read वंशे

27. The crack runs through ही.

24. पु²⁸ सद्वेश(ष)ता।(।) राहौ तीक्ष्णकरग्रहः कुमणिषू(षु) त्रासोदयः केवलं कान्ता-
कुन्तलसन्ततौ कू(कु)टिलता यस्या[*]
25. प्रभू(भु)त्वे भुवि॥[१६*] रम्यालोकोत्सुकितनयनानन्दपीयूष(ष)वर्तिः सेवासक्तक्षिति-
पतिसभापद्मिनीराजह[*]सी
26. ।(।) क(का)ले योष्मग्लपितसुकृतालम्ब(म्ब)नस्वर्णयष्टिर्या निःशेषप्रणयिषु(सु)
मनोनन्दनोद्यानलक्ष्मीः
27. ॥[१७*]²⁹ परममाहेश्वरी मातापितृपादानुध्याता परमभट्टारिका महाराजाधिराज-
परमेश्वरी श्रीधर्मम—
28. हादेवी कुशलिनी॥ तलमूरविषये वर्तमान[भ]विष्यन्महासामन्तमहाराजराजपुत्रान्त-
रङ्गकुम(मा)—
29. रामात्या(त्यौ)परिकविषयपतितदायुक्तकदाण्ड[पा]शिकस्थानान्तरिकानन्यानपि राज-
प्रसादिनश्च(श्चा)ट्ट(ट)—
30. भटवल्लभजातीयान(न्)॥³⁰ दलहित³¹सामन्तसा[म]वाजिवृ(बृ)हद्भोगि-
पू(पु)स्त[क*]पालसाध्य(द्य)धिकरणा³²न्यथार्ह[]
31. मानयति वो(बो)धयति समाज्ञ(ज्ञा)पयति [च*] विदितमस्तु [भ]वतां(ताम्)॥
तलमूरविषयसम्ब(म्ब)द्ध तरतलोइग्रामः चतु—
32. सिम³³ पर्यन्त[*] स(सो)परिकरः सोद्देशः सतन्त्र(न्तु)वायः गोकुटशौण्ड(ण्ड)का-
दिस³⁴प्रकृतिकः सखेटघट(ट्ट)न—
33. दि(दी)तरस्थानादिगुल्मकः सर्वपीडावर्जितोऽ[ले]खनीप्रवेशि(श)तया भूमिच्छिद्रापि-
धानन्यायेन(ना)च—
34. न्दार्कक्षितिसमकालं मातापित्रोरात्मनः³⁵ श्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये शाण्डिल्यगोत्राय॥³⁶
शाण्डिला(ल्या)सितदेव—

28. It looks more like ष

29. The last two verses form respectively the 15th and 16th in the grant of Vakulamahādevī.

30. The *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

31. Das and Panigrahi read बलहित and identify it with the designation of commander-in-chief. It may be the same as *Dal-ādhikārī* or *Senāpati*; a commander of forces; *dala*, a Telugu-Kannada word denoting 'army'. The grant of Vakulamahādevī seems to have mentioned this official designation in line 30, written as कलहित.

32. Read करणं यथार्ह

33. Read चतुःसीमा

34. This स is redundant.

35. The *visarga* sign is superfluous.

36. The *daṇḍas* are redundant.

35. लप्रवराय³⁷ छा(छा)न्दोगाय³⁸पाठप्राप्त माध्यन्दिनशाखाध्यायिने कोलाञ्चविनिर्ग-
ताय कोसल्लावास्तव्याय भ—
36. दृपुरुषोत्तमपौत्राय पण्डितश्रीगदाधरपुत्राय श्रीपद्मनाभाय॥³⁹ उत्तरायन(ण)संक्रान्तौ-
(न्त्यां) ताम्रशास—
37. नीकृत्य अक्षयनिधि⁴⁰धर्मेणाकरत्वेन प्रतिपादितः॥ तदो(दे)षास्मद्धर्मगौरवाद्भवद्भिः
परिपालनीयः(या)॥ उक्तं च
38. धर्मशास्त्रेः⁴¹॥ वहूभि⁴²र्वसधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः[।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि-
स्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्)॥[१८*] मा भूदफल—
39. शङ्का वः परदत्तेति पार्थिवाः। स्वदत्तात्फम(ल)मानन्त्यं परदत्तानुपालने॥[१९*] स्वदत्तां
परदत्ताम्वा(त्तां वा) यो हरेत वसुन्धरां(राम्)[।*] स विष्टाय(यां)
40. कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यतेः⁴³॥[२०*]

Abstract of Contents

The inscription begins with the auspicious symbol for *siddham* and the word *svasti* which are followed by a verse describing the beauty of the locality or the chief city. *Guheśvarapāṭaka*, which is mentioned in a prose passage, whence the charter is stated to have been issued. Verses 2-3 state that there was a king named Unmattasimha. In his family were born the kings like Gayāḍa and others who had flawless qualities. Verse 4 states that in this family was born the prosperous and powerful Loṇabhāra, who caused happiness to the learned. His son Kusumabhāra is described in verse 5, who became king after his father. Verse 6 describes his most powerful younger brother named Lalitabhāra who ruled the kingdom after Kusumabhāra. Verse 7 states that after this king had gone to heaven, his son named Śāntikara became the ruler of the earth. His powerful and large-hearted younger brother named Śubhākara has been described in the verse 8, who is stated to have succeeded Śāntikara. Verse 9 mentions that when this powerful king went to heaven, his queen Gaurī (mahādevī) sat on the throne of her husband.

37. The *daṇḍa* is redundant.

38. Read छान्दोग

39. The *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

40. The editors read निवि; read कृत्याक्षयनीवि as in other grants of the dynasty.

41. The *visarga* sign is superfluous.

42. बहुभिर्वसुधा.

43. The *visarga* sign is superfluous. The editors read पच्यते

Her daughter, the great Daṇḍimahādevī, who succeeded her mother, has been described in verse 10. She is stated to have ruled for long. Then her step-mother named Vakulamahādevī is stated in verse 11 to have ruled the kingdom, who has been described as an ornament, like a flag with insignia in the family of the Bhañja kings in verse 12. Verses 13-17 describe *Dharmamahādevī*, the queen of Lavaṇabhāra, said to have ruled the earth after Vakulamahādevī. She has been described as the female swan in the assembly of kings owing allegiance to her and as the goddess Lakṣmī in the heavenly garden called Nandana. Then follows a passage in prose, recording the reigning queen *Dharmamahadevi*'s order relating to the issue of the grant. She has been endowed with the royal titles and epithets of *Paramamāheśvarī*, *Parambhaṭṭārikā* and *Mahārājādhirāja-parameśvarī* and one who meditates upon the feet of her parents. Then the royal order relating to the grant has been addressed to the present and future *Mahāsāmantas*, *Mahārājas*, *Rājaputras*, *Antarṅgas*, *Kumārāmātyas*, *Uparikas*, *Viṣayapatis*, *Tadāyuktakas*, *Dāṇḍapāśikas*, *Sthānāntarikas* and other royal favourites and officials such as *cāṭa*, *bhaṭa*, *Dalahitas*, *Sāmantas*, *Sānavājis*, *Brhadbhogins*, *Pustakapālas* and their assistants associated with the district (*viṣaya*) of Talamura. The village named Tarataloi, situated in the said district of Talamura is recorded to have been granted, rent-free along with its four boundaries, and by means of a copper-plate charter, in favour of the Brāhmaṇa named Padmanābha, son of *Paṇḍita* Gadādhara and grandson of *bhaṭṭa* Puruṣottama of Śāṇḍilya *gotra*, Śāṇḍilya, Asita and Devala *pravaras* and who is said to have received lessons of the Chāndoga school, being a student of Mādhyandina *sākhā*. The donee is said to have migrated from Kolāñca and been a resident of Koṃsallā. The grant is stated to have been made free from all obstructions and along with the right to fix *uparikara* or additional taxes, right over *uddeśa* or the space above the ground, the weavers the herdsmen, the distillers and other subjects and along with the hamlets, the ferries, the landing places and other outposts. The grant is said to have been made according to the principle of *bhūmi-chidra-pidhāna-nyāya* and made permanent as long as the moon, the sun and the earth would exist, for the increase of religious merits of the reigning queen and her parents. The grant has been issued on the day of *Uttarāyaṇa-saṃkrānti*, by means of a copper-plate charter and according to the maxim *akṣaya-nīvi* and free from taxes. Then follow three of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses.

No. 24

Cāmuṇḍā Image Inscription of Vatsadevī

<i>Provenance</i>	: Jajpur, Cuttack District.
<i>Reference</i>	: D.C. Sircar, <i>EI</i> , XXVIII, 184-185 and plate.
<i>Language</i>	: Sanskrit, in prose.
<i>Script</i>	: Eastern variety of North Indian alphabet of about 9th and 10th centuries A.D.
<i>Date</i>	: Not dated.

Text¹

सिद्धम्²[॥*] राजीवत्सदेव्यायाः³

Abstract of Contents

The inscription after the usual symbol for *siddham* records in one line that the work of the installation of the image (of Cāmuṇḍā) is of the queen Vatsadevī.

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1. From the facsimile in *EI*, XXVIII, facing page 183.
 2. Expressed by a symbol.
 3. Read देव्याः.

Appendix

Gopalpur Charter of Janamejaya I Mahābhavagupta; Year 1

<i>Provenance</i>	: Gopalpur, Bolangir district.
<i>Reference</i>	: Unpublished.
<i>Language</i>	: Sanskrit, partly in verse and partly in prose.
<i>Metres</i>	: Verses 1 <i>Āryā</i> ; v. 2 <i>Indravajrā</i> ; vv. 3, 5-7 <i>Upajāti</i> ; v. 4 <i>Vasantatilakā</i> ; v. 8 <i>Sragdharā</i> ; v.9 <i>Śārdūlavikrīḍita</i> ; vv. 10-16 <i>Anuṣṭubh</i> ; v. 17 <i>Puṣpitāgrā</i> .
<i>Script</i>	: Eastern variety of North Indian alphabet of about 9th century A.D.
<i>Date</i>	: Regnal Year 1, the 12th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Bhādrapada.

Text¹

First Plate

1. सिद्धम्^२ स्वस्ति[*] कृत्वान्तः सुरसरितं फणिपतितनृमालवा(बा)लमाधाय[*]
सुजटातरुनि—
2. कुरुम्ब(म्ब) जनयति यः पातु स शिवो वः[॥*१] यस्य प्रतापानलतोतिदग्धः शत्रु-
द्रुमः
3. सोमकुला(लो)द्भवस्य[*] शौर्याङ्कुर(रो) जातु न मुञ्चतीह स्वभावतुङ्गः स नृपो
व(ब)भूव[॥*२] नृप—
4. स्य तस्यारिवधु(धू)कदम्ब(म्ब)कस्तनेषु सम्पातयतोस्त्र(श्रु)जालकं[॥*३]^३ हरेर्म-
हाको(कौ)लवपु(पू)र्विधारि—

-
1. From the original. The reading of the text has been corrected by Prof. Ajay Mitra Shastri.
 2. Expressed by a symbol.
 3. The second part of the verse has been left out.

5. णो भुजस्थलस्थेव विराजिता मही[॥*४]⁴ तस्याछ(च्छ)रु(रू)पास्ति च धर्मपत्नी
सिन्दुरगौरी—
6. ति विभूषणाय[॥*] अनेकताराकुलसङ्कुलस्य शीताङ्गुलखेव⁵ नभस्तलस्य[॥*५]
7. सर्वोद्धताद्धैमनगेन्द्रकल्याज्जात[:*] सुतः कल्पतरु(रू)पमेय[:*] अजन्मनः
श्रीजनमेजयो—
8. स्मिन्नेकः श्रियोवास इति प्रसिद्धः[॥*६] तस्या विशुद्धात्मनि मातरीत्थं विराजते
सर्वकला—
9. श्रयोसौ[॥*] स्फुरत्प्रभामण्डलराजराजः सम्पूर्णचन्द्रा(न्द्रे) वियतीव शुभ्रः[॥*७]
कृतयुगा—
10. चारप्रसवभूमिलक्ष्मी कुलभवनानन्दपरम्परायतनाद्ध(द्धी)रशतानलधु(धू)मध्या-
मलित—
11. लावनार्थिजननिकरकल्पतरुसज्जनाधिवासकाद्विपणिविकीर्णशङ्खशुक्तिमुक्ता—

Second Plate : First Side

12. फलमणिप्रवालकामीकरनिचयान्मज्जनसमयावतीर्णवरवारविलासिनीकुच—
13. कलशलग्नकश्मीरजपिञ्जराम्बु(म्बु)प्रवाहतेलासनाथात्पञ्चडम्ब(म्ब)रिसङ्गीत-
निमित्तकर—
14. तलाहतगम्भीरमुरजरवाकर्णनसम्भावितघननिस्वनभवनोद्यानकलापिकुलस—
15. ततप्रवृत्तनृत्यरमणीयान्महाकटकवरात्सुवर्णपुरात् सो[॥*५]यं परमभट्टारक-
महाराजा—
16. धिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीशिवगुप्तदेवपादानुध्यात[:*] परममाहेश्वर[:*] परमभट्टारक-
महारा—
17. जाधिराज[:*] सोमकुलतिलक[:*] तृ(त्रि)कलिङ्गाधिपति[:*] श्रीमहाभवगुप्त-
राजदेवः कुशली[॥*]
18. नदीतटविषयप्रतिव(ब)द्धकोन्नयिल्लाग्रामे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणा[न्*] सम्पु(म्पू)ज्य यथाकाला-
ध्यासिनः स—
19. महार्तुसन्निधातृद(दा)ण्डपाशिकवेत्रिकावरोधजनराजवल्लभादिचाटभटजातीया—
20. न(न्) सम(मा)ज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु भवतां यथास्माभिरयं ग्रामः सनिधिः सोपनिधिः
सर्ववा(बा)धा—
21. विवर्जितः सर्वकरादानसर्मेतः निषिद्धचाटभटप्रवेशः सर्वान्वे(न्वे)दानधीत्यामलव—

4. The first part of the verse has been omitted.

5. Read शीताङ्गुलखेव

22. रमतिना सम्यगर्थेस्तदर्थेयेरा(रु)तु(त्ति)ष्ठीयमानैर्मखशतविधिना जीवलोकं पवित्रं(त्रम्)[*] कृ—
 23. त्वा धर्मार्थकामैः तृ(त्रि)भिरपि नियतं भावितं संप्रदेयैर्भ(भा)रद्वाजस्यगो(गो)त्रे द्विजकुल—

Second Plate; Second Side

24. तिलकः शोभनोभूत्सयज्वा[॥८*] तस्मात्पुण्यवतंस्वधर्म⁶निरताज्जातो विशुद्धात्मनः श्रीसा—
 25. धारण ए(?)कधर्मनिलयः प्रज्ञावतामग्रणीः[*] राज्ञोमात्यपदास्पदं परिणतस्तस्या(स्य) प्र—
 26. जां पालयन्[*] शक्रस्येव वृ(बृ)हस्पतिर्दशरथस्यासीद्वशिष्ठो यथा॥[९*] तस्मै भारद्वाजगोत्रा—
 27. याङ्गिरसवा(बा)र्हस्पत्यप्रवराय प्राजापत्यानू(नु)प्रवराय वाजसनेयचरणाय माध्यन्दि—
 28. नशाखाध्यायिने टाक्कारोविनिर्गताय तुर्वुनाग्रामे वास्तव्याय भट्टश्रीसाधारणाय
 29. भट्टशोभनसु(सू)नवे सलिलधारापुरःसरेण प्रथमराज्याभिषेकशक्रोत्थानमहो—
 30. च्छ(त्स)वसमये मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये ताम्र(म्र)शासनेनाकरी—
 31. कृत्य प्रतिपादित[*] इत्यवगत्य समुचितभोगभागकरहिरण्यादिकमुपनयद्भि-
 र्भवद्भिः सुखे—
 32. न प्रतिवस्तव्यमितिभिर्दत्तिरि⁷यमस्मदीया धर्मगौरवादस्मदनुरोधाच्च स्वदत्तिरिवानु—
 33. पालनीया[*] तथा चोक्तं धर्मशास्त्रे[*] व(ब)हुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरा-
 दिभिः[*] यस्य यस्य य—
 34. दा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्)॥[१०*] मा भूदफलशङ्का वः परदत्तेति पार्थिवाः
 [*] स्वदाना—
 35. त्फलमानन्त्यं परदत्तानुपालने॥[११*] शष्टिं⁸ वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः[*]
 36. भाविभिश्च भूपति⁹

6. Read वतस्वधर्म-

7. Read मिति दत्तिरि- cf. note 9 below.

8. Read षष्टिं

9. Actually the scribe has committed a slip in inscribing this portion here without a mark to indicate that it was left out earlier. It should have come after प्रतिवस्तव्यमिति in line 32 above. That it was left out there is clearly indicated by the fact that we have there भिर which is not required in the context. The whole portion should actually be read as प्रतिवस्तव्यमिति भाविभिश्च भूपतिभिर्दत्तिरियमस्मदीया as in other records.

Third Plate : First Side

37. आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्[॥*१२] अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं
भूर्वैष्णवी सु(सू)र्यसुता—
38. श्च गावः[॥*] यः काञ्चनं गाञ्चनं¹⁰ महि(ही)ञ्च दद्यात् दत्तास्त्रयस्तेन भवन्ति
लोके(काः)[॥*१३] आस्फोटयन्ति पि—
39. तरः प्रवल्गयन्ति¹¹ पितामहाः[॥*] भूमिदाता कुल(ले) जातः स नः त्राता¹²
भविष्यति[॥*१४] भूमिं यः प्रति—
40. गृह्णा(ह्ना)ति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति[॥*] उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्म्मणौ नियतं स्वर्ग-
गामिनौ[॥*१५] तडागानि(नां)स—
41. हस्त्राणि¹³ वाजपे[य*] शतानि¹⁴ च[॥*] गा(ग)वां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्ता न शुध्यति
[॥*१६] स्वदत्तां परद—
42. ताम्बा(तां वा) यो हरेद्वसुन्धरां¹⁵[॥*] स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते
[॥*१७] स(सा)मान्यो—
43. यं धर्मसेत्तु(तु)र्नृपाणां काल(ले) काल(ले) पालनियो¹⁶ भवद्भिः[॥*] सर्वानेतान्
भाविनो
44. भूपतीन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामचन्द्रः[॥*१८] इति कमलदलाम्बु(म्बु)वि(बि)न्दुला-
(लो)लां
45. श्री(श्रि)यमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च[॥*] सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च वु(बु)द्ध्वा न हि
पुरुषैः पर—
46. कीर्तयो वलाप्याः¹⁷[॥*१९] श्रीजनमेजयदेवस्य विजयराज्ये सम्बच्छ(त्ख)रे प्रथमे
47. भाद्रपदा(द)मासे सितपक्षे द्वादश्यां(श्या)मङ्केनापि सम्बत् १ भाद्र शुदि १२ लिखि—
48. तमिदं शासनं महासान्धिविग्रह(हि) प्रतिव(ब)द्धकायस्थ कोऽघोषेणेति मङ्गल(लं)
महाश्रीः¹⁸[॥*]

10. Read गाञ्च.

11. Read प्रवल्गयन्ति.

12. *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

13. Read सहस्रेण.

14. Read शतेन

15. Read हरेत वसुन्धराम्.

16. Read पालनीयो.

17. Read विलोप्याः

18. This formula normally comes at the end of the record.

Third Plate : Second Side

49. सङ्ग्रामेन उकृतं सासमिति¹⁹ दावरओझा²⁰ सुनवे²¹ ॥
 50. तदपर[*] प(पू)र्वपितामहोपार्जितकोन्तकपल्लीयार्जङ्गाग्राम[*] धनकु—
 51. दसहित[*] महानदीस्रोतोर्द्धपरिच्छेद[*] तुर्वुनाग्रामोप्यत्रापि शासने
 52. पुनर्दानपुण्योदयहेतवे दन्तो लिखित इति²² ॥

Abstract of Contents

The inscription begins with a symbol for *siddham* and the word *svasti*. This followed by a verse of invocation to god Śiva. The second and the fragmentary third verse introduce the king with the epithet of *Svabhāvatuṅga* who was born in the family called *Soma-kula*. Verses 4-5 describe his queen named *Sindūragaurī*. Verses 6-7 describe the son of this king named *Janamejaya* who has been compared with the *kalpataru*. Then follows a passage in prose, from line 9-15, describing the royal capital or the chief city called *Suvarṇapura* whence the charter is stated to have been issued. It is stated to have been situated near the river *Telā*. Lines 15-17 record the name of the reigning king as *Mahābhavaguptarājadeva*, who has been endowed with the royal titles of *paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *mahārājādhirāja* and *Trikaliṅgādhīpati* and the religious title of *paramamāheśvara*. He has been described as an ornament of *Soma-kula* (the Lunar dynasty) and as a devotee at the feet of Śivaguptarājadeva who has been endowed with the royal titles of *paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *mahārājādhirāja* and *parameśvara*. Lines 18-23 record the royal order addressed, after due veneration to the Brāhmaṇas, to the officers such as *samāhartṛ*, *sannidhātṛ*, *vetrika* and the members of the harem and other royal favourites, the members of the *cāṭa*, and *bhaṭa* categories, in the village named *Konnayillā*, situated in the *viṣaya* of *Nadītaṭa* (or the district situated on the river bank), relating to the grant of land in the said village. It is stated to have been granted along with the treasure-troves, the

19. Read संग्रामेनोत्कीर्णं शासनमिति.

20. The scribe Saṁgrāma is known from several copper plate grants of Janamejaya issued in his third and later regnal years, to have been the son of Rayanā Ojhā.

21. Read सूनूना.

22. Read दन्तो लिखितमिति; the writing on this side is bolder and in different hand and added later, creating thereby a suspicion about it being a deliberate fraud.

upanidhi, with all the regular and irregular taxes and made free from entry of the *cātas* and *bhaṭas*. Lines 23-26 describe the donee of the grant, named Sādhāraṇa, son of Śobhana, of Bhāradvāja *gotra*, as a pure soul, learned, an ornament of the Brāhmaṇa caste and compared with lord, Bṛhaspati, preceptor of Indra and the sage Vasiṣṭha, preceptor of Daśaratha. Lines 27-32 records that the grant of the above mentioned village was made by means of a copper-plate charter in favour of *Bhaṭṭa* Sādhāraṇa, son of *Bhaṭṭa* Śobhana of Bhāradvāja *gotra*, Āṅgīrasa-Bārhaspatya *pravara*, Prajāpatya *anupravara* and a student of the Vājasaneyya *caraṇa* of Mādhyandina *śākhā* (of Yajurveda), who migrated from Ṭakkāri and resided in the village of Turvvunā. The grant was issued on the occasion of the Śakrotthāna ceremony in the first regnal year of the king. It was made for accruing religious merit of the reigning king and his parents. The donee is to be paid by the villagers regular rent and taxes such as *bhoga*, *bhāga*, *kara*, *hiraṇya* etc., in kind as well in metallic money. Lines 33-46 contain 10 of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. Lines 46-47 record the date of the grant in the regnal year of the king, as the *year 1, the 12th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Bhādra*, written both in words as well as in numerals. Line 48 records the name of the writer of the charter as Koighosa, who is stated to have been the Kāyastha or a clerk attached to the *mahāsandhivigrahin* (minister of peace and war). Line 49 records the name of the engraver of the charter as Saṃgrāma, son of Dāvara Ojhā. Line 50-52 contain a post script which records that the village named Arjaddā situated within the locality called Kontakapallī, was regranted in this charter along with the grant of the village of Turvvunā, for accruing religious merit. It further records that another locality named Dhanakudda, extending up to half of the stream of the river Mahānadī, was also included in the said grant.

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INDEX

A

- ācārya* 17, 81, 102, 126, 129
Accountant-General 75
aḍā, measure 85
Aḍḍhendakoṇā, locality 67, 137, 139
aḍhā, measure 85
Aḍhaigaṇḍi, locality 67
āḍhaka, measure 81, 85, 127, 130
Āḍhakadaddāsvāmin, Brahmin donee 113
adhikaraṇa, office 79, 106, 111, 121, 123, 126, 129, 132, 134, 142, 149, 156, 159, 163, 176, 188, 193, 195, 199, 205, 219
adhikārin, office 74
adhivāsaka, (temporary residence) 58
aḍikā, measure 85
Ādinagara, locality 53
Ādipur, locality 59
Āghāka, officer 122, 124
Agnihoṭrin, 111, 112, 113
Aihole, 4
Airāvattamaṇḍala, territory 13, 61, 70, 90
akṣayanidhi (wrong reading) 176n, 220
akṣayanivi (permanent endowment) 107, 109, 122, 126, 130, 133, 134, 138, 143, 145, 150, 152, 157, 164, 166, 170, 172, 181, 194, 195, 206, 208, 220n, 221
Alosing, locality 72
Alusing, locality 72
amātya 75, 225
Amṛtavardhana, officer 157, 160
Amubhaṭṭaka, (same as Amubhaṭṭa) 89, 142, 145, 149, 152
Ānandajīva, officer 128, 130
Ānandanāga, officer 122, 124
Anantavarman, king 22
Andhra Pradesh 58, 184n
Āṅgīrasa, *pravara* 133, 134, 169, 172, 176, 177, 194, 195, 225, 228
Angul, locality 10, 35, 47, 51, 67, 68, 69, 70, 83, 84, 175n, 176n, 210, 213n, 216n
antaraṅga, office 74, 77, 106, 108, 111, 114, 121, 123, 126, 129, 132, 134, 137, 139, 142, 145, 149, 151, 155, 158, 169, 172, 180, 187, 189, 193, 195, 199, 201, 205, 207, 219, 221
Antarodha-pargana 66
Antarudra, locality 66, 106, 108
anupravara 181 & n, 184
Anuṣṭubha, metre 105, 110, 118, 120, 125, 131, 135, 140, 147, 154, 161, 167, 173, 178, 185, 191, 197, 203, 210, 216, 223
Apara-Balabhadrasvāmin donee, 113
Apara-Bhavadevasvāmin donee, 113
Aparadeva, donee 112
Apara-Śītalasvāmin, donee 113

Āpasvāmin, donee 113

Āpnavā (wrong text) 206, 208

Āpnuvan 206, 208

Apratidāghoṣa 181, 184

Apsarodeva, king 47, 48, 67, 176, 177

Arab 54

Arabal (same as Arabāla and Aravāla, locality) 47, 49, 71, 76, 191, 193 & n, 194, 195

Argguṇḍāsvāmin, donee 113

Arghyakā-varāṭi (*maṭha*) 94, 116, 117

Ārjjaddā (same as Ārjaddā, locality) 227, 228

Arthaśāstra 83

Ārttihara, donee 212n

Āryā, metre 223

Asita *pravara* 212n, 219, 221

Āśrama 29

Assam 5 & n

Aśvalāyana 206 & n

Aśvattha, tree 128, 130

Athgarh, locality 61, 64, 65, 183n, 199n

Atihara, donee 212, 214

Ātharva, Vedic 113

Atri, sage 107n

Audala *pravara anupravara* 133 & n, 134, 181 & n, 184, 189, 190

Audalya, *pravara* 189, 190

Aurvva, *pravara, anupravara* (same as Aurva) 133, 134, 206, 208

Avaditadaddāsvāmin, donee 113

Avalokiteśvara 17, 56, 87, 103n, 104

Avatamsaka, Buddhist text 22

Āvatsāra, *pravara* 188, 190

B

Baḍakhimeḍi, locality 24, 64

Badal, locality 27

Baḍanadī (same as Badanai, river) 26, 65, 181n, 183n.

Bāgha-garttikā 144, 146

Bāghuāḍi, locality 69

Bahvṛca *caraṇa* 111

Balabhadra 150n

Balabhadra, officer 170, 172

Balabhadrapāla-*kṣetra* 150, 153

Balabhadrasvāmin, donee 113

Baladeva, officer 195, 196

Balasore, district 3n, 20, 59, 61, 68, 69, 71, 103

bali 129, 142, 145, 149, 152, 156, 159, 164, 165

Balichhai, locality 131

Balimi, locality 69

Balurghat 208n

Bāmanapāla, donee 137, 139

Bāmanghāṭi, locality 63

Banerjee, Priyatosh 210n, 211n, 213n

Banerji, R.D. 8, 110 & n, 112n 113n, 114n, 115n, 116 & n, 117n, 118 & n, 119n

Banki, locality 61

Banpur, locality 65, 197 & n

Bārhaspatya, *pravara* 169, 172, 176, 177, 212 & n, 214, 225, 228

Baripada, locality 131, 135n, 147n, 197n

Bartini, locality 64, 188n

Barua, K.L. 5n

Baud, locality 38, 39 & n, 42, 60, 61, 154, 161

Baud-Khandmals, district 38, 39 & n, 42, 154, 161

- Bay of Bengal 61
 Belagam, locality 183n
 Bengal 4, 5, 6 & n, 18, 19, 24, 26, 29, 59, 63, 85
 Bhādasvāmin, donee 113
 Bhādra (same as Bhādrapada month) 131, 133, 134, 135, 138, 139, 223, 226, 228
bhāga, tax 225, 228
 Bhagadatta 5, 6, 34, 136, 139
 Bhagalpur 27
 Bhagīratha 6, 34, 136, 139
 Bhaṇḍasvāmin, donee 112
 Bhaṇḍāripokhari, locality 68
 Bhañja, dynasty 13, 38, 39 & n, 48 & n, 49, 50, 51 53, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63 & n, 84, 187n, 204, 207, 218, 221
 Bhañjanagar 62, 65, 181n, 182n
 Bhānudatta, king 58
 Bhārasaha, epithet 15, 19, 110, 114
 Bharata 6, 34, 136, 139
 Bhārgava 206, 208
 Bhāskara, donee 111
 Bhāskarasvāmin, donee 113
 Bhāskaravarman, king 4, 6, 18, 20
bhaṭṭa, (same as *bhāṭa*) 106, 109, 111, 114, 121, 122, 123, 126, 132, 134, 142, 145, 149, 151, 156, 158, 163, 165, 169, 172, 175, 177, 184, 187, 189, 193, 195, 199, 201, 205, 207, 219, 224, 228
bhaṭṭa 82, 93, 94, 111, 112, 116, 117 & n, 121, 123, 133, 134, 156, 169, 176, 177, 183, 195, 212 & n, 214, 221, 225, 228
bhaṭṭa-purohita 113
bhaṭṭapurta 113, 188, 189, 190, 194, 206, 208, 219, 221
 Bhava, deity 101, 102
 Bhavadeva, donee 112, 113
 Bhavadevasvāmin, donee 111, 113
 Bhavāna-*vaṁśa*, dynasty 30, 121, 123
 Bhavasvāmin, donee 113
 Bhayyāsvāmin, donee 113
 Bheṇḍadeva, donee 121, 123
bhikṣu 89, 142, 145, 149, 152
 Bhīma 55
 Bhīmanagarigarh 167 & n
 Bhīmaṭa 84, 94, 116 & n, 117 & n, 119 & n
bhiṣak 94, 117n, 119
bhoga, administrative unit 74, 76, 78
bhoga tax 225, 228
 Bhogaḍa, officer 189, 190
bhogika 114, 115
bhogin 48, 76, 78, 122, 124, 130, 143, 146, 150, 152, 157, 160, 164, 166, 170, 172, 195, 196, 200, 202
 Bhṛgu 107n
 Bhubaneswar 28, 38n, 58, 71n, 84, 90n, 94 & n, 105n, 116, 117n, 118, 120n, 154n, 161n, 216n
 Bhūmidevasvāmin, donee 113
 Bhuṣaṇanāga 49, 200, 202
 Bhuyān, tribe 5, 6
 Bidya, Binod Bihari 119n
 Bihar 5, 26, 29, 59, 63
 Billipadā, locality 65, 181n, 182n
 Birmaharajpur 38
Bisoyi surname 77
 Bolangir, district 4, 38, 60, 61, 223
 Brahmadata, officer 114, 115
 Brāhmaṇa 25, 29, 66, 68, 80, 81, 82, 83, 88, 89, 92, 93, 94, 95,

- 115 & n, 117 & n, 122, 123, 129, 134, 157, 159, 164, 166, 182 & n, 184, 190, 201, 202, 208, 221, 227, 228
- Brāhmaṇa-Puruṇākote, locality 69
- Brāhmaṇi river 67, 68, 69, 71, 193n
- Brāhmanical 89, 92, 93
- Brahmasvāmin, donee 112
- Brahmeśvara temple 39, 53
- Buḍhā 103n, 104
- Buddha 24, 25, 88, 89, 90, 91, 114, 129, 142, 145
- Buddha-*bhaṭṭāraka* 142, 145, 149, 152
- Buddha-*bhaṭṭārakāyatana*, temple 142, 149
- Buddhism 86, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92
- Buddhist 4, 6, 17, 18, 19, 22, 28, 29, 30, 35, 56, 68, 70, 71, 79, 81, 87 & n, 88, 89, 90 & n, 92 & n, 93, 95, 103n, 114, 122, 123
- Buguḍā, locality 181n
- brhadbhogin* 74, 75, 76, 78, 79, 106, 108, 111, 115, 121, 123, 126, 128, 129, 132, 134, 137, 139, 142, 145, 149, 151, 156, 159, 163, 165, 169, 172, 176, 177, 188, 189, 193, 195, 199, 202, 205, 208, 219, 221
- Bṛhaspati 225, 228
- C**
- Caccāsvāmin, donee 112
- caitya* 90 & n
- Cālukya, dynasty 4
- Cāmuṇḍā, deity 92, 96, 222
- Candradeva, donee 111
- Candrasvāmin, donee 113
- caraṇa* 107, 111, 115, 121, 123, 169, 172
- caru* 126, 129, 142, 145, 149, 152, 156, 159, 164, 165
- cāṭa* 106, 109, 111, 114, 121, 123, 126, 132, 134, 142, 145, 149, 151, 156, 158, 163, 169, 172, 175, 183, 184, 187, 189, 193, 199, 201, 205, 207, 219, 221, 224, 228
- Caturthadasāyakaradeva, donee 111
- Caturthadodyatakaradeva, donee 111
- Chānapati* 94n
- Chāndasa 112n
- Chāndiśa 112
- Chāndogya 220 & n
- Charamparāja 66
- chātra* 111, 112, 113
- Chatrapur 64
- Chatterji, S.K. 5n
- Chattopadhyaya, D. 4n
- Chaudhuri, P.C. 5n
- Chaurasi, locality 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 16, 17, 18, 24, 54, 57, 66, 80, 92, 105
- cheda* 72, 200, 202
- Chikiṭi, locality 20
- Chikiṭigaḍa 20
- Chilka (laka) 62, 65
- Chindaka-Nāga, dynasty 44
- Chinese 3, 4, 23 & n, 87
- Chitalpur 125
- Choḍātavutsā, locality 70, 206, 208
- chowkidar* 78,
- Ciraja (wrong reading) 108
- Citācirā 144, 146
- civara* 142, 149

Cola, dynasty 53 & n

Contai, locality 71

Cowrie-shell 83

Cuttack, district 3n, 15, 21, 51, 52, 53, 55, 57n, 58, 59, 61, 62, 66, 67, 69, 71, 72, 87, 92, 109n, 110, 193n, 222

Cuttack Museum 64

Cyavana 206, 208

D

Daddāsvāmin, donee 112, 113

Daḍḍisvāmin, donee 112

Daddo, donee 113

Daivalya, *pravara* 212n

Dakinmal 71

Dakṣiṇakhaṇḍa 71, 163, 165

Dakṣiṇa Tosala (same as Dakṣiṇa Tosali) 3 & n, 4, 29, 30, 47, 48, 51, 59, 61, 62, 64, 67, 74, 96, 106, 108, 121, 123, 132, 134, 137, 139, 175, 177, 187, 189, 199, 201

dala 79, 219n

dal-ādhikārin 79, 219n

dalahita, officer 74, 79, 205n, 208, 219, 221

dalai 79

dalavāya 79, 208n

Dāmodara, officer 200, 202

Dāmodara, donee 112

Dāmodarapāla, donee 137, 139

Dāmodarasvāmin, donee 112, 113

Dāmusvāmin, donee 113

Dāṇālava (same as Dānārṇava, officer) 182 & n, 184

dānapati 81, 83, 93, 94, 126, 129, 142, 145, 150, 152, 157, 159, 164, 166

Dānārṇava, king 48, 182, 184

Daṇḍabhuktimāṇḍala (same as Daṇḍabhukti) 20, 24, 37, 42, 48 & n, 49, 61, 63, 71, 91, 156, 159, 163, 165

Daṇḍānki, locality 69n, 111n

Daṇḍānkiyoka, locality 68, 111, 115

daṇḍapāsika (same as dāṇḍapāsika) 74, 77, 106, 108, 111, 114, 121, 123, 126, 129, 132, 134, 137, 139, 142, 145, 149, 151, 156, 158, 163, 165, 169, 172, 175, 177, 180 & n, 183, 187, 189, 193, 195, 199, 201, 205, 207, 219, 221, 224

daṇḍāsi 78

Daṇḍimahādevī 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 15, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 55, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 70, 71, 73, 74, 76, 77, 79, 82, 96, 173 & n, 174 & n, 175 & n, 177, 178 & n, 179n, 180 & n, 182 & n, 183, 184, 185, 186n, 187, 189, 190, 191, 192 & n, 193 & n, 194, 195, 197 & n, 198 & n, 199 & n, 200, 201, 202, 203n, 204 & n, 205n, 207, 210n, 211n, 212n, 216n, 217n, 218n, 221

Daṇḍīśvara, temple 55

daṇḍuāsi 78

Dantidurga, king 26

Dantivarman, king 26

Darpan, locality 110

Das, B. 6n, 16n, 33n, 38n, 42n, 44n, 52n, 65n, 68n, 71n, 84n, 87n, 92n, 111n, 191n

Das, G. 126 & n, 217n, 218n, 219n

Daśaratha 225, 228

- Daspalla, locality 38, 50, 52, 53, 62
 Dāvāra Ojhā, officer 227, 228
 De, S.C. 40n, 103, 154, 155n, 161 & n
 Deccan 26
 Delhi 191n
deśākṣapaṭalādhikṛta 75
 Deśālagrāma locality 68, 83, 212, 214
 Deukkāsvāmin, donee 112
 Devadatta, officer 201, 202
 Devadeva, officer 143, 146, 150, 152, 157, 160, 164, 166
 Devakuṇḍa, donee 112
 Devala, *pravara* 212n, 214, 219, 221
 Devalabdha-*joṭa*, stream 150, 152
 Devālaya (wrong reading) 150n
 Devapāla, king 27
 Devapyāka, officer 143, 146, 150, 152
 Devarāta, *pravara*, *anupravara* 133 & n, 134, 181 & n, 184, 189 & n, 190
Devotsava-dvādaśī 53
 Dhal, U.N. 55n, 56n
 Dhanakudda, locality 227, 228
 Dhānyamāda-*joṭa* (stream) 128, 130
 Dharakote 16, 64, 131
 Dharmamahādevī 10, 15, 45, 47, 51, 67, 68 73, 74, 83, 175n, 205n, 210 & n, 212, 214 & n, 216 & n, 217n, 218, 221
 Dharmarāja, king 64, 188n
 Dharmaśālā, locality 71
Dharmaśāstra 107, 114, 122, 127, 133, 138, 143, 150, 157, 164, 170, 194, 200, 220, 225
 Dharmapaṭṭi, locality 176, 177
 Dhātrisvāmin, donee 113
 Dhauli, hill 58, 84, 94, 116
 Dhavala, officer 93
 Dhavala, donee 181, 182, 184
 Dhenkanal, district 3n, 30, 32, 35, 41, 47, 48, 51, 60, 61, 67, 68, 69, 70 & n, 71, 72, 81, 84, 90 & n, 91, 94n, 95, 125, 135, 140, 147, 167, 173, 175n, 176n, 210, 213n, 216
 Dhṛtipura, locality 38, 39 & n
 Dhruvadevasvāmin, donee 112, 113
 Dhruvamitra 169, 171
 Dhruvasvāmin 113
 Dhūlāvṛtasvāmin, donee 113
Dikṣita 194, 195
 Dilīpa 121
 Dinakara, donee 112
 Divākara, donee 112
drona, measure 85
Drumarājakula, dynasty 65
Drutavilambita, metre 154
 Dugaḍa, donee 200, 202
 Durvvākūṭasvāmin, donee 112
 Durvvasvāmin, donee 111, 113
dūtaka 48, 63, 75, 76, 114, 115, 122, 124, 128, 143, 146, 150, 152, 157, 159, 164, 166, 170, 172, 182n, 184, 194, 196, 209n
 Dvitiya-Vovāsvāmin, donee 112
- E**
- Eastern Cālukya, dynasty 184n
 Eastern Gaṅga, dynasty 20, 48, 188n
 Eastern India 4, 63
 Eḍadatta, officer 114, 115
 Eḍudharasvāmin, donee 113
 Eḍusvāmin, donee 112, 113

Ekatāla, tree 201, 202
Eudata (wrong reading) 114n

G

Gadādhara, donee 219, 221
Gāḍadeva, donee 112
Gāḍasvāmin, donee 112
gāḍi, pit 9
Gajapati, dynasty 213n
Gaṇḍavyuha, Buddhist text 22, 87
Gaṇeśa, deity 85, 119 & n
Gaṇeśagumphā cave 84, 117n, 118
Gaṇeśvara-*khātaka* 164, 166
Gaṅga dynasty 20, 21, 22, 26, 48, 59, 62, 84, 213n
Gaṅgaṭṭi-*joṭa* 128, 130
Ganges 172
Ganjam, district 3n, 9, 10, 20, 26, 46n, 47, 48, 50, 52, 53, 60 & n, 61, 64, 65 & n, 66 & n, 74, 76, 82, 85, 131, 173, 174n, 175n, 178, 181n, 182n, 183n, 185, 187n, 188n, 198n, 203n, 204n, 205n
Garasāmbhā, locality 64, 188, 189
Garh-Sāntri (same as Gaḍasāntri, locality) 67, 176n
Garh-Talmul, locality 67
gartta, pit 9
Gauḍa, country 3, 5, 6, 20, 62
Gaurimahādevī 15, 45, 46, 96, 174, 177, 179, 183, 187, 192, 198, 201, 218, 220
Gayāḍa (I and II, king) 15, 28, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 41, 43, 46, 88, 141, 144, 148, 155, 158, 162, 168, 171, 174, 177, 179, 183, 186, 192, 198, 201, 204, 211, 214, 217, 220

Gayāḍapura 28, 151, 153
Gayāḍatuṅga, king 60
Gayādharaśvāmin, donee 113
Ghaḍisvāmin, donee 113
Ghaṇṭaśilā, locality 65, 197
ghaṭṭa 80, 107n, 121, 123, 133, 142, 149, 156, 159, 163, 165, 169, 176, 177, 181, 188, 193, 200, 206 & n, 208, 219
Ghose, A. 103
Godhaneśvarapāṭaṇā, locality 55, 56
goheri 9, 144 & n, 146, 165, 166
Goherikā 9
Gohira 56, 157, 160
Gohiri 56, 144n, 160
gokuṭa 94, 107, 121, 123, 126, 132, 142, 149, 156, 159, 163, 176, 181, 188, 193, 200, 206
Gomicandrasvāmin, donee 112
Gopalpur 223
Gorakṣitasvāmin, donee 113
gosāin-mā 42n
Goṣṭhabhūṭisvāmin, donee 111
Goṣṭhadevasvāmin, donee 111, 112
Gosvāmin 171n
Gosvāminī 15, 37, 40, 41, 42 & n, 92, 155, 158, 162, 168, 171 & n
gotra 66, 68, 81, 82, 88, 93, 107n, 109, 111, 115, 188, 189 & n, 190, 194, 199, 203, 206, 208, 219, 221
Govardhanasvāmin, donee 111
Govinda III, king 26
Govinda, donee 112
Govindadeva, donee 112
Govindadevasvāmin, donee 113
Govindasvāmin, donee 113
grāmakuṭa 79

Guhadevapāṭaka 25, 29, 30, 31, 54, 55, 57, 110, 114, 120, 122, 125, 128, 131, 134, 171n
 Guhadevapāṭikā (same as Guhadeva-pāṭikā) 18, 25, 54, 55, 57, 105, 108
 Guhadevasvāmin, donee 113
 Guhadevī (wrong reading) 105n
 Guheśvarapāṭaka 33, 34, 37, 43, 45, 50, 51, 54, 55, 56, 57, 62, 68, 72 & n, 135, 138, 140, 144, 147, 154, 158, 161, 167, 171&n, 173, 178, 183, 185, 191, 198, 201, 210, 214, 216, 220
Guhira 56, 144n
 Guhiraṭikīrā, locality 56, 57
 Gijjāṭa, locality 132, 134
 Gujjāṭa (wrong reading) 132n
gulmaka 80, 107 & n, 121, 123, 133, 137, 142, 149, 159, 163, 169, 176, 177, 181, 188, 193, 200, 206, 208, 219
guñjā, seed 83
 Gupta, dynasty 75, 77, 78

H

Haladharasvāmin, donee 113
 Haṁsadevasvāmin, donee 113
 Haṁseśvara, temple 15, 16, 18, 21, 56, 101
haṇḍikāpati 113
 haṁsa (wrong reading) 10
 Haradevasvāmin, donee 112
 Haravara, officer 128
 Harideva, donee 111
 Harighoṣa, donee 112
 Harikuṇḍa, donee 112
Harinī, metre 140
 Harivardhana, officer 93, 108, 109, 164, 166, 170, 172

Harṣadattasvāmin, donee 112
 Harṣadeva 5
 Harṣavardhana (same as Harṣa, the Puṣyabhūti king) 4, 6, 18, 20, 75
 Harṣavarman 6
 Hastināpura 151, 153
haṭṭa 102
 Heruka 92
 Hili 208n
 Hindol, locality 7, 9, 13, 16, 30, 68, 69, 72, 80, 83, 91, 93, 125, 133n
 Hindu 94, 95
 Hīrāmahādevī 15, 33, 35, 45, 72, 89, 136, 139, 142, 145, 149, 151
hiranya 81, 83, 127, 225, 228
hiranya-paṇa 83
 Hiuen Tsang 3
 Hoṇḍalagrāma, locality 65, 182, 184
 Huṇḍālu, locality 65

I

Ijyā 116, 117 & n, 118, 119 & n
 Indra, deity 228
 Indra, officer 207, 209
 Indraratha, king 53
 Indraśarmasvāmin, donee 113
 Indravajrā, metre 101, 125, 131, 135, 223
 Īśvara, donee 200, 202
 Īśvaravardhana, officer 157, 160

J

Jagaddhara 95, 169, 172
 Jagati, locality 135, 140, 147
 Jainagar 59
 Jajpur 15, 21, 52, 53, 55, 56, 58, 68, 69, 71, 87, 91, 92, 96, 101, 109n, 193n, 222
 Jālladeva, officer 176, 177
 Jāllubhaṭṭa, donee 107, 108

- Jāmadagni 212
 Jāmadagnya 206, 208, 214
 Jambhala 49, 74, 182, 184, 200, 202, 207, 208
 Jambhaṇa 200n
 Janamejaya I (same as Mahābhavagupta I, Somavarṁśin king) 12n, 13, 38, 39, 40, 43, 53, 54, 60n, 224, 226, 227 & n
 Janārdhana, donee 112
 Janāddanasvāmin, donee 112
 Jayakaṭaka 64, 65, 132
 Jayapura 64, 65, 70 & n
jayaskandhāvāra 55, 110, 120, 122, 125, 154, 171n, 173
 Jayāśrama-vihāra 70 & n, 89, 93, 143, 145, 150, 152
 Jayātman 49, 182, 184, 200, 202, 207 & n, 209
 Jayāvalidevī 15, 16, 18, 19, 96, 106, 108
 Jayavarmadeva 20, 21, 22, 24, 34, 57
 Jivānandasvāmin, donee 113
 Jivātman, donee 111
 Jivāśvavṛddha, donee 194, 195
joṭa 128, 130, 143, 146, 152, 158
 Juṇapaṅgā, locality 151, 153
 Jyeṣṭha, month 191, 194, 195, 197, 200, 202
- K**
- Kailāsa 101, 102
 Kakā, donee 200 202
 Kakkāsvāmin, donee 113
kalahita 205, 208, 219n
 Kālemvura-vṛkṣa, tree 201, 202
 Kāliam, locality 70n
 Kāliṅga 5, 6, 21, 24, 26, 57n, 58
 Kāliṅgaka 141, 144, 148
 Kāliṅganagara 20, 48, 188n
 Kallāṇigrāma 70 & n, 142
Kalpataru 224, 227
 Kalyāṇapura (same as Kalyanpur) 70, 151, 153
 Kāmadeva, donee 111
 Kāmarūpa 4, 5 & n, 6
 Kaṁsarānagarī 65, 66, 200, 202
 Kaṁsāvātī, river 61
 Kanauj 4, 6, 16n, 52n
 Kāṇhadeva, donee 112
 Kāṇhasvāmin donee 113
 Kanihā, locality 70
 Kaṅkalā, locality 69
 Kaṅkālu, locality 69
 Kāṅkavirā 126n
 Kansai, river 61
 Kānteda, locality 206, 208
 Kaṇṭāparā, locality 72
 Kaṇṭhakaka, officer 189, 190
 Kāṇva-śākhā 121, 123, 169, 172, 181, 184, 188, 189, 194, 195
kara 225, 228
 Karañja, tree 128, 130
 Karavirā, locality 69
 Karṇadeva (same as Karṇakeśarin) 68, 69
 Karnataka 32, 43, 44
kārṣapaṇa 83
 Kārttika, month 105, 107, 109, 154, 157, 159, 161, 164, 166, 167, 170, 172
 Kārttikeya, deity 151
 Kāśyapa *gotra* 82, 188, 190
Kaṭaka 65
 Kaṭakabhukti-*viṣaya* 65
 Kātyāyana, *gotra* 66, 107, 109
 Kātyāyanī, deity 92, 169, 171

- Kauśika, *gotra* 82, 133 & n, 134, 189 & n, 190
 Kauṭilya 83
 Kavakṣa-*jota* 143, 146
 Kāyastha 226, 228
 Kehuvā-*khaṇḍa* 213, 215
 Keonjhar, district 3n, 20, 50, 62, 70n
 Keśavadeva, donee 111
 Keśavasvāmin, donee 111, 112
 Keśavavimbavāmin, donee 113
 Khaḍgatuṅga 35, 90n
 Khaḍipadā, locality 56, 57, 103
 Khaga, king 48, 76, 195
 Khairapaṭa, locality 182, 184
 Khairapaṭi, locality 182n
 Khairapuṭi, locality 65
khaṇḍa, division 63, 74, 149 & n, 176, 180, 181n
 Khaṇḍagiri 84, 117n, 119n
khaṇḍakṣetra 72 & n, 164, 206, 208
 Khaṇḍipadā-Nuāpalli 66
khāta 9
 Khedajhari, locality 65
 Khelāvanadeva, donee 121, 123
kheṭa 80, 107n, 121, 123, 133, 142, 149, 156, 159, 163, 165, 169, 176, 177, 181, 188, 193, 200, 206, 208, 219
 Khiching, locality 48, 62
 Khidiṅgi, locality 65
 Khijjīṅgakoṭṭa 13, 48 & n, 50, 51, 60, 61, 63 & n
 Khijjīṅgamaṇḍala 61
 Khidiṅgahāra-*viṣaya* 65, 66, 199, 201
 Khiṇḍjalimaṇḍala (same as Khiṇḍjali) 13, 38, 39, 50, 51, 52, 60, 61, 62
 Kodālakamaṇḍala 13, 61, 90
 Kodalā-*taluk* 65, 66 & n
 Koighoṣa, officer 226, 228
 Kolāṅca 68, 212, 214, 219, 221
 Koṅgodamaṇḍala (same as Koṅgoda) 3 & n, 4, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 31, 48, 49, 57, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 132, 134, 180 & n, 183, 187, 188n, 189, 201
 Komparāka, locality 69, 111 & n
 Kompāraka, (wrong reading) 69n
 Komyasaṅga, locality 67, 176 & n
 Koṅkavirā, locality 69, 126, 129
 Konnayillā, locality 224, 227
 Koṅsallā, locality 68, 219, 221
 Kontakapalli, locality 227, 228
 Kontasyarā, locality 72, 169, 172
 Koraṇḍi, locality 149n, 151, 153
 Koraṭṭi-*khaṇḍa*, locality 64, 149, 151
 Kosala 4, 5, 6, 12n, 26n, 36, 38, 60, 155, 158, 162
 Koṭṭabhañja 48 & n, 49, 63, 76, 194, 196
 Koṭṭapāla 106
 Koṭṭapurā, locality 49, 156, 158, 159 & n
Kṛtayuga 224
kṣatriya 94
 Kṣemaṅkara 15, 16, 23, 24, 88, 110, 114
 Ksīrodasvāmin, donee 112
kulaputraka, officer 82, 93, 137, 139
kulyavāpa 85
 Kumāra, officer 77, 111, 114, 142, 145, 149, 151
 Kumārabhūtiśvāmin, donee 112
 Kumāraka, officer 207, 209

kumārāmātya 74, 77, 106, 108,
121, 123, 126, 129, 132, 134,
137, 139, 142, 145, 149, 151,
156, 158, 163, 165, 169, 172,
175, 177, 180, 183, 187, 189,
193, 195, 199, 201, 205, 207,
219, 221

Kumaṅga-*sāsan*, locality 65

Kumurāṅga-*sāsan*, locality 65

Kumurāṅga, locality 8, 9, 46, 47, 49,
65, 179n, 180n, 182n, 192n,
195, 197, 204n

Kumarusiṅgā, locality 67, 176n

Kuṅgadamaṇḍala 199, 201

Kupāri, locality 69

Kūrmmasvāmin, donee 113

Kurukullā, deity 92

Kuśabhadra, river 66

Kusasiṅgā, locality 67

Kuśika, *gotra* 189n

Kusumahāra I & II (same as
Kusumabhāra) 8, 15, 30, 34, 41,
46, 55, 136, 138, 155 & n, 156,
158, 162, 163, 174, 177, 179,
183, 186, 192, 198, 201, 204,
211, 214, 217, 220

Kusumeśvara, temple 55

kuṭakola 74, 79, 106n, 108, 121,
123, 129, 132, 134, 142, 145,
149, 151, 156, 159, 163, 165,
169, 172, 176, 177, 188, 189,
193, 195, 199, 201, 205, 208

L

Lakṣmīkara 15, 16, 23, 30, 120,
125, 129, 131, 134

Lalitagiri 87, 92

Lalitaḥāra I & II (same as Lalita-
bhara) 8, 15, 28, 35, 37, 41, 43,

44, 46, 55, 155, 158, 162, 168,
171, 177, 179, 183, 186n, 192,
198, 201, 211, 214, 217, 220

Laliteśvara, temple 55

Lavāgaṇḍā, locality 66, 121, 123

Lavaṇabhāra, king 15, 40, 41, 51,
218, 221

lekha 122, 128, 143, 150, 157,
164, 170, 189, 195

Licchavi, dynasty 5

Liṅgarāj, temple 94n

Lokabhūti, donee 111

Loṇahāra (same as Loṇabhāra, king)
15, 31, 32, 33, 36, 37, 40, 43,
46, 51, 136, 138, 155, 158,
162, 174, 177, 183, 186, 192,
198, 201, 204, 211, 214, 217,
220

Loyomaka 94, 116, 117 & n

Lumbādevamitra, donee 133, 134

Lunar, dynasty 37

M

Maḍera-*viṣaya* 67, 137, 139

Mādhavadevasvāmin, donee 113

Mādhavadevī, queen 15, 16, 17, 18,
19, 21, 25, 44, 56, 91, 96, 106,
108

Mādhavarāja II-Sainyabhīta 3, 66

Mādhavasvāmin, donee 111, 112

Mādhavavarman II-Sainyabhīta 64

Mādhaveśvara, temple 16, 17, 56,
91, 96, 101, 102

Mādhavīdevī 16

Madhu, demon 127, 130

Madhudīkṣita, donee 111

Madhsūdāna, donee 113

Madhsūdānasvāmin, donee 112,
113

- Madhyama-*khaṇḍa-viṣaya* 64, 70, 149, 151
 Mādhyandina-*sākhā* 176, 177, 219, 221, 225, 228
 Madras 185n
 Magadha 4n
mahābalādhikṛta 75
 Mahābalasvāmin, donee 111
Mahābhārata 55, 57n
 Mahābhavagupta-Janamejaya I 38, 40, 223, 224, 227
mahādaṇḍanāyaka 75
 Mahādeva, donee 112
 Mahādevasvāmin, donee 111, 112
mahādevī 30, 52, 106, 108, 121, 126 & n, 132, 142, 145, 149, 156, 163, 220
mahākavi 49, 74, 182, 200, 207
mahākāṭaka 224
mahākṣapaṭala 182 & n
mahākṣapatalādhikṛta 48, 75, 76, 114, 115, 122, 124, 128, 130, 143, 146, 150, 152, 157, 159, 164, 166, 170, 172, 194, 196, 200, 202, 207
mahākṣapaṭalika 48, 75, 76, 77, 114, 115, 122, 124, 128, 130, 143, 146, 150, 152, 157, 160, 164, 166, 170, 172, 184, 189, 190, 195, 196, 200, 202
mahāmahattara 74, 78, 79, 106, 108, 111, 115, 121, 123, 126, 129, 132, 134, 137, 139, 142, 145, 149, 151, 156, 159, 163, 169, 172, 176, 177, 188 & n, 189, 193, 199, 201
mahāmaṇḍalācārya 87, 103, 104
mahāmaṇḍalādhipati 91, 156, 163, 165
 Mahānadi 3n, 26, 39 & n, 61, 65, 66, 67, 181n, 183n, 227, 228
mahāpratihāra 76, 182 & n, 184
mahārāja 21, 22, 25, 35, 57, 74, 75, 76, 106, 108, 111, 114, 121, 123, 126, 129, 132, 134, 137, 142, 145, 149, 151, 156, 158, 163, 165, 169, 172, 177, 180, 183, 187, 189, 193, 195, 199, 201, 205, 207, 219, 221
mahārājādhirāja 17, 19, 22, 25, 28, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35, 45, 47, 73, 96, 106, 108, 120, 121, 122, 123, 126, 129, 134, 136, 137, 139, 142, 145, 149, 151, 156, 158, 163, 165, 168, 169, 171, 175, 177, 180, 183, 187, 189, 193, 195, 199, 201, 205, 209, 219, 221, 224, 227
mahāsāmanta 74, 75, 106, 108, 110, 114, 121, 123, 126, 129, 134, 137, 139, 142, 145, 149, 151, 156, 163, 165, 169, 172, 175, 177, 180, 183, 193, 199, 201, 205, 207, 219, 221
mahāsandhivighraṇika (same as *mahāsandhivighraṇin*) 48, 74, 75, 76, 182 & n, 184, 195, 196, 226, 228
 Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti 37n, 38, 59
mahattara 20, 78
mahāvihāra 68, 89
mahāvratadhārin 156, 164, 165
 Mahāyāna (same as Mahayanic) 86, 87, 88, 90, 91, 92 & n
 Mahendra-*bhoga-viṣaya* 78
 Maheśvara, deity 183
 Mahīdhara, donee 206n, 208
 Mahīdharasvāmin donee 113

- Majumdar, R.C. 16n, 21n, 23 & n, 27n, 38n, 44 & n, 52n, 59n
 Mākyadeva, donee 176, 177
māla, land measure 68, 83, 84, 212, 213n, 214
 Mālādharasvāmin, donee 113
māli 94 & n
maliā 94n
malin-āmbu-vāha 78, 170, 172
Mālinī, metre 101, 120, 140, 147, 154, 161, 173, 178, 185, 197, 203, 210, 216
 Mālisāhi, locality 216
 Malloka, officer 157, 159, 164, 166
 Mallu, officer 122, 124
māṇa, land measure 84, 213n
maṇḍala 47, 61, 62, 63, 73, 74, 75, 42, 63, 176, 177
maṇḍalādhipati 42, 63, 176, 177
maṇḍapa 67, 81, 88, 122
 Mandaradevasvāmin, donee 112
 Manera 67n, 137n
 Maṅgalakalaśa, king 42, 63, 91, 156, 163, 165
 Māṅgalya, *gotra* 133, 134, 144
 Māṇikyadeva, donee 176n
 Manoratha, donee 112
 Mārga (same as Mārgaśira and Mārgaśiraṣa, month) 53, 110, 113, 115, 178, 181, 184
 Mārici, deity 92
 Māṣa-nadī 144, 146
maṭha 67, 81, 88, 89, 91, 94, 116 & n, 122, 168
 Maurya, dynasty 77
 Mayurbhanj, district 3n, 20, 48, 50, 61, 63, 71, 131n, 135n, 140n, 147n, 197n
 Meramau-*khaṇḍakṣetra* 206, 208
 Merudeva, donee 121, 123
 Merudevasvāmin, donee 113
 Merusvāmin donee 113
 Midnapore, district 3n, 42, 60, 61, 71
 Mihadhica (wrong text) 206, 208
 Misra, B. 5n, 17n, 32, 55, 56, 64n, 65, 69 & n, 70n, 72n, 77n, 79n, 85n, 105n, 107n, 110 & n, 111n, 112n, 113n, 116 & n, 117n, 118 & n, 119n, 125 & n, 126n, 127n, 131, 132n, 133n, 135, 136n, 137n, 138n, 140 & n, 141n, 142n, 143n, 147 & n, 149n, 150n, 167 & n, 168n, 170n, 178, 179n, 181n, 182n, 185, 188n, 197, 201n, 202n, 210 & n, 211n, 212n, 213n
 Mohinīdevī, queen 15, 28, 29, 30, 96, 101, 121, 123
mṛgajānu 128, 130, 146, 157, 160, 165, 166
 Mṛgaśirā-*nakṣatra* 53
 Mudgala, dynasty 3, 64
 Mughal 71
- N
- nadītara-sthāna* 80, 107n, 121, 123, 127, 133, 137, 142, 149, 156, 159, 163, 169, 176, 181, 188, 193, 200, 206 & n, 208, 219
Nadītaṭa-viṣaya 224, 227
 Nāga, dynasty 32, 36, 43, 44, 129
 Nāgadadeva, officer 170, 172
nagakāra 170n
 Nāgodbhava, dynasty 30, 32, 44, 126, 132, 134

Nagpur 13
 Naidhruva, *pravara* 188, 190
nala, measure 69
 Nandana 221
 Naṇḍeilo, locality 69
 Nandodbhava dynasty 13, 47, 61, 70, 84, 90
 Naṇṇa, king 91, 156, 159, 163, 165
 Nannakoṇāsvāmin, donee 112
 Nannāṭa 20, 116, 117 & n, 119 & n
 Nanneśvara, temple 91, 156, 159, 163, 165
 Nanneśvara-*talapāṭaka*, locality 156, 158, 159 & n
 Naradattasvāmin, donee 112
 Naraka 5
 Narakadeva, donee 111
 Narakādhāra, stream 158, 160
 Narasiṃhasvāmin, donee 111
 Narasingpur 67
 Nārāyaṇa, officer 114, 115
 Nārāyaṇadevakaṇṭha, donee 133, 134
 Nārāyaṇakara, officer 122, 124
 Nārāyaṇapāla, king 27
 Nārāyaṇasvāmin, donee 112, 113
 Narendrabhaṇja 59
 Narttani, locality 64n, 188 & n
naṭakāra 143
 Nayagarh 50, 62
 Nepal 5
 Neṭṭabhaṇja 65
 Neulpur 8, 10, 16, 17, 19, 24, 68, 80, 81, 88, 94, 110
nidhi 224
 Nigrā-nālā 69
 Nilakaṇṭha, donee 206, 208
 Nimapara, locality 66

Noḍḍilo, locality 69, 72, 81, 126, 129
 North Bengal 208n
 Nṛṇṇā, queen 15, 29, 88, 121, 123
 Nṛttāmahādevī, queen 37, 38, 155, 158, 162
 Nyagrodha, tree 158, 160

O

Oḍra 3 & n, 5, 6, 23, 39, 54, 59 & n, 60
 Oḍra-*deśa* 59
 Oḍraka 59
 Oḍra-*viṣaya* 60
 Ojha, G.H. 17n, 113n, 170n
 Olasa, locality 72
 Olāśrama, locality 71, 72, 169, 172
 Orissa State Museum 38n, 71n, 90n, 103n, 105n, 120n, 125n, 154n, 161n, 173n, 216n
 Oriya 9, 55, 56, 78, 182n, 197n, 213n

P

Pachama-*khaṇḍa* 176, 177
pādamūla 127, 142, 149, 157, 159, 164, 166
 Padmanābha, donee 220, 221
 Padmanābhasvāmin, donee 111, 113
 Padmapāṇi, deity 103n, 104
 Padmasena, officer 200, 202
 Padumasvāmin, donee 113
 Pāla, dynasty 26, 29, 59, 63
pala, weight 83, 84, 213 & n, 215 & n
 Pallahara 67, 70n
paṇa 81, 83, 127, 130
 Pāñcāla-*viṣaya* 68, 69 & n, 111, 114

- pañca-mahāśabda* 35, 60, 62
Pañcamāla-pargana 69
pañcamī 53
 Pandey H. 197 & n, 200
 Panigrahi K.C. 5n, 16n, 38n, 44n, 51n, 116 & n, 117n, 118 & n, 119n, 216 & n, 217n, 218n, 219n
Pañktāpollā 128, 130
paramabhaṭṭāraka 17, 19, 22, 29, 30, 34, 35, 73, 106, 108, 121, 123, 126, 129, 132, 134, 137, 139, 142, 145, 149, 151, 224, 227
paramabhaṭṭārikā 45, 47, 73, 96, 156, 158, 163, 165, 169, 171, 175, 177, 180, 183, 187, 189, 193, 195, 201, 205, 207, 219, 221
paramaguru 87, 103
paramamāheśvara 35, 89, 137, 139, 142, 145, 149, 151, 176, 177, 224, 227
paramamāheśvarī 47, 92, 175, 177, 180, 183, 187, 193, 195, 201, 205, 207, 219, 221
 Paramāra Bhoja 53
paramasaugata 25, 29, 30, 88, 89, 90 & n, 110, 114, 121, 123, 125, 129, 134
paramatathāgata 19, 24, 88, 90, 110, 114
paramavaiṣṇavī 41, 42, 92, 156, 158, 163, 165, 169, 171
parameśvara 17, 19, 22, 25, 28, 29, 30, 34, 73, 106, 108, 120, 121, 122, 123, 125, 126, 129, 132, 134, 137, 142, 145, 149, 151, 168, 171, 174, 179, 187, 192, 198, 204, 218, 224
parameśvarī 33, 35, 47, 73, 96, 136, 139, 156, 158, 163, 165, 169, 171, 175, 177, 183, 189, 193, 195, 205, 207, 219, 221
paramopāsaka 17, 24, 25, 30, 88, 110, 114, 120, 122
pargana 66, 69
 Paritoṣa, donee 111
 Parvatadroṇi 68, 111 & n, 115
Paścima-khaṇḍa 63, 67, 68, 176, 177
 Paśupālasvāmin, donee 111
 Paśupatināth, temple 5, 6
pāṭaka 54, 56, 72 & n, 74, 157, 159 & n, 164, 165
pāṭaṇā 56
 Patiakella, locality 64, 188n
pāṭikā 54, 72
 Patna (Patna Museum) 37n, 38
pattana 56
 Paul, P.L. 6n.
 Pauṣa, month 140, 145, 147, 152
payāḍa 9, 201, 202
peḍāpāla 9, 78, 122, 124, 128, 130
peḍāpālaka 143, 146, 150, 152
 Peda-Vegi 184n
Peṭāpāla (same as *peṭapāla*) 9, 78, 114, 115
peṭakapāla 9, 78, 157, 160, 164, 166
peṭṭapāla 114n
 Phālguna, month 22
 Phulbani, locality 38
 Piṣṭapura 58
 Pithapuram 58
 Prabhākara, donee 111
 Prabhākarasvāmin, donee 111
 Pradyotasvāmin, donee 111
 Prāgjyotiṣapura 5

- Prahāsa officer 76, 182
 Prajāpatya, *anupravara* 225, 228
 Prajñā 87
prakṛtika 95, 107, 121, 126, 133, 137, 142, 149, 156, 163, 176
 181 & n, 188, 193, 200, 206, 219
 Pramodasvāmin, donee 112
praśasti 49, 53, 200 208
prastha, measure 84, 85, 119 & n
pratihāra 48, 74, 76, 82, 93, 181, 184, 195, 196
pravara 81, 82, 93, 107 & n, 109, 133 & n, 169, 172, 184, 189 & n, 190, 206, 208, 219, 221
 Pṛthivīmahārāja 58
 Pṛthivīsvāmin, donee 112, 113
 Pṛthvīmahādevī 11, 15, 30, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40 & n, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 49, 54, 60 & n, 63, 71, 73, 81, 89, 90, 91, 156, 158, 163
 Pulakeśin II 4
 Pulindarāja 30, 31, 91, 127, 129
 Pulindeśvara, temple 31, 69, 91, 127, 129
 Puṇḍravardhana 194, 195
 Purāṇa, Purāṇic 5, 6
 Purandarāsvāmin, donee 112
 Puri, district 3n, 28, 29, 38, 58, 59, 62, 65, 66, 92, 105, 118, 120, 188n
 Puṇḍracandra 213n
 Puruṇākote 70
 Purushottampur 65
Puruṣottama, epithet 125, 129, 132
Puruṣottama, donee 82, 111, 112, 188, 189, 190, 220, 221
Puruṣottamadeva, donee 176, 177
Puruṣottamasvāmin, donee 111, 112
Puruṣottamavṛddha, donee 194, 195
Pūrva-khaṇḍa-viśaya 63, 64, 65, 180, 181n, 183 & n
Pūrvarāṣṭra-viśaya 69, 70, 142, 145
Puṣpitāgrā, metre 120, 125, 131, 135, 140, 147, 154, 161, 167, 191, 197, 203, 223
pustakapāla 74, 78, 106, 108, 115, 126, 129, 132, 134, 142, 145, 149, 151, 156, 159, 163, 165, 169, 172, 176, 177, 188, 189, 193, 199, 202, 205, 208, 219, 221
pustapāla 74, 78, 106, 111, 115, 121, 123, 219
 Pustariyāpura, locality 151, 153
 Puṣya (same as Pauṣa, month) 143, 145, 150, 152
 Puṣyabhūti, dynasty 4
 Puṣyasvāmin, donee 113
- R**
- Rabhaṣavardhana, officer 8, 143 & n, 146, 150n, 170
 Rādhā (same as Rādha) 19, 20, 24, 141, 144, 148 & n
 Rahasavardhana officer 8, 143n, 146, 150 & n, 152, 164, 166
rahasika 75
rahasyādhikṛta 75
 Rāhularuci 87, 103, 104
 Rajaguru, S.N. 20n, 52, 54n, 62n, 64n, 66n, 68n, 84n, 118 & n, 131, 132n, 133n
 Rājamalla 32, 43, 44, 168, 171
rājanagara 57
rājanyaka 193, 195
rājaputra 48, 63, 74, 76, 77, 106, 108, 111, 114, 121, 123, 126, 129, 132, 137, 139, 142, 145,

149, 151, 156, 158, 163, 165,
 169, 172, 175, 177, 180, 183,
 187, 189, 193, 194, 195, 196,
 199, 201, 205, 207, 219, 221
rājasatka 74, 77, 175 & n, 177
 Rājendra Cola 53
rājñi 29, 121, 123n, 222
raktikā 83
 Rāmadeva, officer 128, 130
 Rāmavardhana, officer 143, 146,
 150, 152
 Rambhā, locality 64
 Raṇabhañja 39 & n, 60
rāṇaka 20, 21, 22, 24, 31, 34, 35,
 39, 47, 48, 49, 50, 57, 60 & n,
 62, 67, 74, 75, 76, 142, 143,
 145, 146, 149, 150, 151, 152,
 159, 164, 166, 176, 177, 180n,
 182, 184, 195, 200, 202, 207
 Rāṅgadeva, donee 122, 123
 Rasambhā 64
 Rāṣtrakūṭa, dynasty 4, 5, 26 & n, 59
 Ratnagiri 87, 92
ratti 83, 84, 213n, 215n
Ravi-dina 53
 Ravika, donee 82, 189, 190
 Ray, H.C. 5n
 Rayanā Ojhā, office 227n
Revati-nakṣatra 53
 Ṛgveda 107
 Risikeśa 10
 Riṣikeśva 112
 Riṣiṇāga 10, 112 & n
 Ṛṣabhasvāmin, donee 111, 112
 Ṛṣikeśa, donee 112
 Ṛṣisvāmin, donee 112, 113
 Rudradevasvāmin, donee 112
ru ka 4, 213 & n, 215
rupaka 84, 213n, 214

rupyaka 213

Russelkonda, locality 65

S

Śabdakalpadruma 85, 107n
 Sādhāraṇa, donee 225, 228
 Sāgarasvāmin, donee 113
 Sahu, N.K. 56n
 Sailodbhava, dynasty 3 & n, 7n,
 12n, 18, 20, 21, 23, 44, 62, 64,
 65, 66, 77, 183n, 188n
 Śaivism 86
 Śaivite 34, 35, 37, 42, 47, 80, 81,
 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 129
 Śakemvāgrāma 68, 212
 Śākhāṭaka, tree 128, 130, 157, 160,
 165, 166
 Śakra 225
 Śakradatta, donee 112
 Śakrasena, officer 157, 159, 164,
 166
 Śakrotthāna-mahotsava 225, 228
 Śākta 92
 Śakti cult 92
 Śālastambha, dynasty 5
 Sālīā, river 66
 Sālimā, river 66
samāharṭṛ 224, 227
sāmanta 74, 79, 180, 183, 205,
 208, 219, 221
Sāmavāji 74, 79, 180, 183, 205,
 208, 219, 221
 Sambalpur 4, 60
 Sambhaka 182, 184
 Śambhūsavāmin, donee 111
 Śambhūyaśas, king 64
 Saṁgrāma, officer 227 & n, 228
saṁkrānti 181, 182, 184, 212 & n,
 214, 220, 221

- Sampūrṇasvāmin, donee 111
 Samudradatta, officer 114, 115
 Samudrakara-*vandha* 201, 202
 Śaṇḍhadeva, donee 122, 123
 Śāṇḍilyasa, *gotra* 212 & n, 214, 219, 221
 Sāṅgadeva, donee 112
 Sāṅgasvāmin, donee 111
 Śaṅkarabhūtiśvāmin, donee 113
 Śaṅkarasvāmin, donee 112
 Śaṅkhapura 151, 153
Sannidhātr 224, 227
 Śāntikara I 11, 15, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 40, 41, 43, 55, 58, 72, 84, 88, 89, 94, 116, 117, 118, 119 & n, 126, 129, 132, 134, 135, 138
 Śāntikara II 15, 33, 36, 41, 43, 51, 72, 89, 136, 138, 174
 Śāntikara III 15, 40, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 51, 73, 174, 177, 179, 183, 192, 198, 201, 204, 212 & n, 214, 217, 220
 Śāntivardhana, donee 112
 Śāntiragrāma 12, 47, 67, 71, 74, 77, 173, 176, 177, 180n, 191n, 193n, 195, 198n, 199n, 204n, 205n, 207, 210n
 Sāntri, locality 210
 Sāralā dāsa 55
 Sarasvatī, deity 168
 Śardūlavikriḍita, metre 101, 120, 135, 140, 147, 154, 161, 167, 173, 178, 185, 191, 197, 203, 210, 216, 223
 Sarvaṇāga, donee 112
 Śarvanāga 112n
 Sarvvadeva, donee 200, 202
 Śaśāṅka, king 3, 4, 20, 62, 90
 Śaśilekhā 42, 91, 156, 159, 163, 165
 Sastri, H.P. 167 & n, 169n, 170n
 Sastri, K.A. Nilakanta 53n
 Śatadamana, donee 111
satra 156, 159, 164
 Śatrubhaṅja 39n, 50, 52, 53
 Satyabhāmā 125, 129, 132
Saumya-dina 53
śaunḍika 94, 107, 121, 123, 126, 133, 137, 142, 149, 156, 159, 163, 165, 176, 177, 181 & n, 188, 193, 200, 206, 219, 221
 Śavara, tribe 213n
 Śāvarṇa, *gotra-pravara* 133, 134
 Śāvastha-*deśa* 206, 208
Senāpati 75, 79, 219n
 Shastri, Ajay Mitra 223n
Śikhariṇī, metre 154, 161
 Śilākunḍa-*joṭa* 158, 160
 Śilasvāmin, donee 113
 Sīmā-*joṭa* (same as Sīmā-*joṭikā*) 128, 130, 150, 152
 Simhaketu, king 15, 30, 33, 43, 128, 130
 Simhaketu, king 15, 30, 33, 34, 43, 141, 144, 148
 Simhamāna, king 33, 35, 142, 145, 148, 151
 Sinda, dynasty 32, 36, 44
 Sindagaurī, queen 15, 32, 36, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 157, 159, 164, 166, 170, 172
 Sindavādi 44
 Sindūragaurī, queen 38, 224, 227
 Sinha, B.P. 4n
 Sircar, D.C. 13, 17n, 19n, 32 & n, 33n, 37, 38, 44, 52, 53, 54n, 56, 67n, 75n, 79n, 85 & n, 95n, 101

- & n, 120 & n, 122n, 170n, 173,
 208n, 215n, 222
 Sirdarpur 70n
 Śitāṃśu-*vaṃśa*, dynasty 34, 37,
 155, 158, 162
sita-pakṣa 226
 Śitikanṭhasvāmin, donee 112
 Śiva, deity 56, 80, 81, 89, 91, 92,
 93 & n, 94 & n, 96, 102, 129,
 130, 183, 223, 227
 Śivadāsapura 55, 56, 57
 Śivadeva, donee 113
 Śivagupta, king 224, 227
 Śivakara I 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 23n,
 96, 106, 108
 Śivakara II 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 15, 17,
 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23 & n, 24,
 26, 34, 43, 54, 57, 64, 66, 80,
 87, 88, 92, 105, 106, 108, 110,
 114, 120, 125
 Śivakara III 11, 15, 27, 28, 29, 30,
 32, 88, 96, 120, 123
 Śivakara IV 7, 9, 11, 15, 24, 28,
 30, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40,
 44, 45, 46, 53, 54, 64, 69, 70,
 73, 81, 89, 90, 93, 96, 140, 141,
 142, 145, 146, 148, 149, 150,
 151, 152
 Śivapura 55
 Śivarāja 64, 188n
skandhāvāra 171
Smṛti 80, 82, 83, 215n
 Śobhana, donee 225, 228
 Śobhanadeva, donee 112
 Solampur 68
 Solanapura (same as Salanapura)
 25, 68, 69 & n, 81, 88, 89, 111,
 115
 Somadatta, king 20, 59
 Soma-*kula*, dynasty 223, 224, 227
 Somasvāmin, donee 113
 Sāmavaṃśin, dynasty 4, 26n, 36, 37,
 38 & n, 39, 40, 41, 44n, 50, 51n,
 52, 53, 54, 58, 59, 60 & n, 68,
 84, 89
 Sonepur 38, 39, 60, 61
 Soṭṭrai-*vandha* 201
 South India 32, 44
Sradharā, metre 125, 140, 147,
 154, 161, 223
 Śrāvaṇa, month 125, 127, 130
 Śravaṇakatikā, locality 64, 70, 205,
 208
 Śrāvastī 208n
 Śṛṅgala-*joṭa* 128, 130
 Śrīdhara, donee 111
 Śrīdharabhaṭṭa, donee 212, 214
 Śrīdharabhūti, donee 111
 Śrīdharasvāmin, donee 111, 112
 Śrī Harṣa 5
 Srikakulam 58
 Srinivasan, P.R. 203, 206n, 209n
 Śrī-[Nṛ]simha 182, 184
 Śrī-Viraja (same as Virajā-*kṣetra*)
 108, 109 & n
 Stambhaka 182n
sthānāntarika 74, 78, 106, 108,
 114, 121, 123, 126, 129, 132,
 134, 137, 142, 145, 149, 151,
 156, 158, 163, 165, 169, 172,
 175, 177, 180, 183, 187, 189,
 193, 195, 199, 206 & n, 207,
 219, 221
 Sthāvarasvāmin, donee 112
 Sthiradevasvāmin, donee 112
 Sthiravardhana, donee 112

- Śubhadeva 110n
 Śubhadevi 105n
 Śubhākara I 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 23, 24, 25, 44, 56, 87, 88, 91, 96
 Śubhākara II 8, 10, 15, 16, 19, 23n, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 37, 43, 46, 52, 68, 80, 88, 89, 94, 101, 102, 103, 106, 108, 110, 114, 120, 122, 123, 129, 134, 141, 144, 148, 155, 158, 161
 Śubhākara III 7, 10, 11, 12, 15, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 66, 81, 88, 95, 96, 120, 121, 123 & n
 Śubhākara IV 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 25, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 43, 46, 55, 64, 69, 72, 80, 81, 83, 85, 88, 90, 91, 93, 125, 126, 129, 131 & n, 132, 134, 141, 162n
 Śubhākara V 7, 11, 15, 30, 33, 34, 36, 38, 41, 46, 53, 54, 67, 73, 82, 89, 96, 135, 137, 139, 141, 144, 148, 155n
 Śubhākara VI 15, 40, 43, 45, 46, 47, 49, 70, 73, 96, 174, 177, 179, 183, 187, 192, 198, 201, 204, 218, 220
 Śubhākarasvāmin, donee 112
 Śubhalakṣaṇa, donee 112
 Subuddhi, U.K. 16n, 31n, 38n, 44n, 51n, 54n, 56n, 65n, 69n, 70n, 71n, 87n
 Sudarśana, donee 112
 śudi 107, 122, 127, 133, 157, 164, 200, 226
 śūdra 94
 Sugata 25, 114
 Sugatāśraya 88, 121, 123
 Sulāntarakurbha, locality 66, 121
 Śulki, dynasty 13, 47, 61, 90
 Śurabhipura 70, 149, 151 & n
 Sūryapāla 93, 137, 139
 suraddhipura 70n, 149n
sutradhāra 75, 103, 104
 Suvarṇapura 38, 224, 227
 Suvarṇarekhā, river 71
 Svabhāvatuṅga, king 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 53, 155, 158, 162, 223, 227
 svāmin 93
 Śvetaka kingdom 20, 21, 22, 24, 26, 34, 57, 62
 Sylvain Levi 23
- T**
- tadāniyuktaka* 74, 128 & n, 132
tadāyuktaka 74, 77, 106, 108, 111, 114, 121, 123, 126, 129, 132n, 134, 137, 139, 142, 145, 149, 151, 156, 158, 163, 165, 169, 175, 177, 180, 183, 187, 189, 193, 195, 199, 205, 207, 219, 221
Tailakhāta 144, 146
Tailikhāta 144n, 146
 Ṭakāri, locality 176, 177
 Ṭakkāri, locality 225, 228
 Talamura, locality 63, 67 & n, 175n, 177, 219, 221
tala-pāṭaka 159 & n
talavara 75
 Talcher locality 7, 9, 35, 37, 41, 47, 60, 64, 67, 69, 70 & n, 81, 82, 90n, 93, 135, 140, 147, 155n, 162n, 213n
 Talmul, locality 67, 175n, 176n
 Talmul-pāṭanā 67
 Talmul-sāsan 67, 175, 176n

- Taltali, locality 51, 68, 175n, 205n, 210n, 212n, 216
 Tamalā-khaṇḍakṣetra 70n, 71, 150, 152
 Tamāla-khaṇḍakṣetra 70n, 71, 150n, 156, 159
 Tamluk, locality 71
 Tamura, locality 63n, 67n, 70n, 175, 176, 177
 taṇḍula 127
 tantravāya 126, 142, 163, 181, 188, 193, 200, 219
 Tantric 92
 tantuvāya 94, 107, 121, 123, 126n, 132, 142, 149, 156, 159, 163, 176, 177, 181n, 188, 193, 200, 206, 219
 tapasvīn 157
 Tāradatta 122, 124
 Taramaṇḍapa, locality 29, 66, 67, 82, 88, 96, 121, 122, 123, 124
 Taramura, locality 67&n
 Tārānātha 4 & n, 6
 Tarataloi, locality 68, 219, 221
 taṣṭakāra 108
 Tathāgata 24
 taṭṭhakāra (same as tathakara) 75, 93, 108n, 114, 115, 122, 124, 128, 130, 143n, 150, 152, 157 & n, 160, 164, 166, 170n, 189, 195
 Tela, river 224, 227
 Telugu-Kannada 79
 Teṇḍahāra, locality 71, 93
 Tendrāka, tree 128, 130
 Teruṇḍiā, locality 7, 10, 12, 29, 66, 81, 88, 95, 120
 Te-tsong 23
 thānapati 94n
 Thirosvāmin, donee 112
 ṭikirā 56
 Tirumalai 53
 Tiruṇḍiā, locality 66
 tolā 84
 Tosala 59, 171
 Tosali 3 & n, 20, 22, 24, 26, 59, 61, 63, 71 & n, 72, 169, 171
 Tribhuvana, donee 112
 Tribhuvanakalaśa, king 52
 Tribhuvanamahādevī I 11, 15, 24, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 54, 71, 72, 73, 78, 81, 89, 91, 92, 95, 126, 129, 132, 134, 136, 138, 141, 144, 148, 167 & n, 169, 171 & n
 Tribhuvanamahādevī II 11, 15, 39, 40 & n, 41, 60, 71, 73, 81, 92, 95, 136n, 154, 156, 158, 161, 163, 165
 Trikaṇḍādhīpati 224, 227
 trikaṭa (same as trikaṭā) 143, 144, 146, 151, 153
 Tripathi, N. 17n, 21n, 66, 105 & n, 107n, 108
 Tripathy, S. 39n, 59n, 60n, 62, 83n, 84n, 213n
 Trivikramacandrasvāmin, donee 111
 Trivikramasvāmin, donee 111
 Tuṅga, dynasty 14, 35, 47, 60, 61, 70, 84, 89, 90 & n, 213n
 Turvvunā, locality 225, 227, 228
 Tryārṣeya-pravara 212n
- U
- Ubhaya-Khiṇḍjalyādhīpati 39
 Udayāditya 53
 Udayagiri 58, 84, 87, 92
 Udayakuṇḍa, donee 112
 Udayapur 53

uddeśa 107, 108, 111, 121, 126, 132, 134, 137, 139, 142, 145, 149, 152, 156, 163, 169, 176, 177, 181n, 188, 189, 193, 200, 202, 208, 219, 221
Udyotakeśarin 39, 54
Ugrāditya, officer 182 & n, 184
Umā-Maheśvara 90, 91, 156, 159, 164, 165
Unmaṭṭakeśarin 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 31, 52, 57, 64, 92, 168, 171
Unmattasimha 15, 19, 20, 23 & n, 24, 34, 37, 43, 46, 52, 87, 141, 144, 148, 154, 158, 161, 173, 177, 178, 179, 183, 186, 191, 198, 201, 203, 211, 217, 220
Upajāti 101, 223
upanidhi 224, 228
uparika 74, 77, 106, 108, 111, 114, 121, 123, 126, 129, 132, 134, 137, 139, 142, 145, 149, 151, 156, 158, 163, 165, 169, 172, 175, 177, 180, 183, 187, 189, 193, 195, 199, 201, 205 & n, 219, 221
uparikara 80, 82, 107, 108, 111, 115, 121, 126, 129, 132, 134, 137, 139, 142, 145, 149, 151, 156, 163, 169, 188, 189, 193, 195, 200, 202, 206 & n, 208, 219, 221
Uregodḍā, locality 64
Uregodḍākhaṇḍa, locality 70, 205, 208
Urṇāsvāmin, donee 111
Urshfin 54
Uśvattha (same as *Asvattha*) 9
Utkala 3 & n, 4, 18, 20, 26n, 27, 57n, 59, 108

Utkalendra 18, 59, 106, 108
Utpaladevasvāmin, donee 112
Utpalasvāmin, donee 111
Utrāyaṇa (wrong text) 188, 190
Uttar Pradesh 208n
Uttara Tosalā (same as *Uttara Tosali*) 3 & n, 4, 18, 25, 30, 35, 37, 47, 48, 50, 51, 59, 61, 62, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71 & n, 74, 96, 110, 114, 126, 129, 142, 145, 149, 151, 156, 158, 163, 165, 193, 195, 205, 207, 208
Uttarāyaṇa 188n, 220, 221
Utthukā-khaṇḍakṣetra 72n, 163, 165

V

va di 113, 138, 153, 181, 194, 206
vāgha 9
vaidya 94, 116, 117n
Vaidyanāthabhaṭṭāraka, deity 31, 81, 89, 91, 94, 127, 129
Vaiśākha, month 22, 120, 122, 124, 203, 206, 208
Vaiṣṇavite 42, 86, 91, 92
vaiśya 94
Vaitaraṇī, river 56, 57n, 68, 69
Vājapeya 226
Vājasaneya carana 121, 123, 133, 169, 172, 176, 177, 188 & n, 190, 194n, 195, 225, 228
Vājasaneyi 111
Vājasena (wrong text) 194
Vajrayāna 86, 87, 90, 92 & n
Vakulamahādevī 7, 12, 15, 45, 47, 49, 50, 51, 64, 70, 73, 74, 203, 204, 205, 207, 208, 210n, 211n, 212n, 217n, 218 & n, 219n, 221
Vallabhasvāmin, donee 113

- Vāmana 111n
 Vamanasvāmin, donee 111
Vaṁśasthāvila, metre 154, 161
 Vañabhadrapāla-*kṣetra* 150
 Vaṇamālasvāmin, donee 112
Vana-mandāra, tree 128, 130
 Vanapolāṇḍaka, tree 128, 130
vānaprastha 119n
Vandh-jōṭa 128, 130
 Vāṅgeśvara, donee 200, 202
 Vañjulvaka 39, 50, 187n
 Vāṅkullamvauvāvā, donee 200
 Vāṅmanasvāmin, donee 111
vaṅśa 10
 Vanvaraḍā, locality 66
vāpī 17, 102
 Varaḍā, locality 181n
 Varaḍā-khaṇḍa, locality 64, 65, 180, 181n, 183
 Vārāḍḍā, locality 65
 Varadeva, donee 111
varāṭikā 116n
varṇa 95
varṇāśrama-dharma 88
varṇāśrama-vyavasthā 93, 110, 123
 Varppaṭasvāmin, donee 113
varittana 81, 127, 157
 Varttani (same as Vartani, locality) 20, 64, 188n, 189
 Vāruḍā, locality 65, 181n
 Varuṇasvāmin, donee 113
vāsaka 58
Vasantatilakā, metre 120, 125, 131, 135, 140, 147, 154, 161, 167, 173, 178, 185, 191, 197, 203, 210, 216, 223
 Vāsimli-*cheda* 200, 202
 Vaśiṣṭha 107n, 225, 228
 Vasubhadrasvāmin, donee 112
 Vāsudeva, donee 111, 113, 181, 184
 Vāsudevasvāmin, donee 111, 113
 Vatsadattasvāmin, donee 112
 Vatsadevī 52, 92, 96, 222
 Vatsasa-*gotra* 206, 208
vaṭu 112
 Vauvavā, donee 200, 202
 Veda 68, 88, 115
 Vedaśarmasvāmin, donee 112
 Vellusvāmin, donee 112
 Veṅgi 184n
 Veṅgipāṭaka 181n, 184
vetrika 224, 227
 Vicitrāḍhya, officer 143, 146, 150, 152
 Vidyādharabhaṅja 187n
 Vidrāvaṇadeva, donee 121, 123
vihāra 25, 70 & n, 89, 93, 143, 145, 150, 152, 155, 158, 162, 168
 Vijayajīva, officer 128, 130
 Vikaradeva 111
 Vilagrāma 181n, 182
 Villagrāma 65, 181, 183
 Vilvagrāma 181n
 Vindhyādri 141, 148
 Viṅgināṭaka 181
 Vinitatuṅga 35, 70, 89, 90n, 142, 145, 151
 Virajā (same as Virajas, Virajā-*kṣetra*) 20, 21, 22, 23, 34, 55 & n, 56 & n, 57 & n, 58, 84, 91, 116 & n, 117n, 118 & n
 Virajā-*māhātmya* 55, 56n
 Virañjā (same as Virajā) 58
 Virasena 78, 172
 Virāṭa, dynasty 42, 91, 156, 159, 163, 165

- Viṣavārṇava, king 20, 21, 22, 24, 31, 34, 57, 62
 viṣaya 22, 59 & n, 60, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67 & n, 68, 69 & n, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 77, 106, 108, 111, 114, 121, 123, 126, 129, 132, 134, 137, 139, 142, 145, 149, 151, 156, 159, 163, 165, 169, 172, 175 & n, 177, 180, 181n, 183, 188 & n, 189, 193, 195, 199, 200, 201, 205, 208, 219, 221, 224
 viṣayapati 74, 77, 106, 108, 111, 114, 121, 123, 126, 129, 132, 134, 137, 139, 142, 145, 151, 156, 158, 163, 165, 169, 172, 175, 177, 180, 183, 187, 189, 193, 195, 199, 201, 207, 219, 221
 Viṣṇu, deity 42, 92, 127, 130, 171n
 Viṣṇukara 55
 Viṣṇusvāmin, donee 111
 Viṣṇuvardhana, donee 112
 Viṣuva-saṁkrānti (same as Visuvela) 53, 206 & n, 208
 Viśvāmitra, gotra pravara 133 & n, 134, 181, 184, 189, 190
 Vitāvirā, locality 144n
 Vitebhaṭṭa, donee 212, 214
 Vorttanaka (same as Vorttonoka, locality) 64, 188n
 Vovāsvāmin, donee 112, 113
 Vrāgaḍi, dynasty 42, 63, 91, 156, 159, 163, 165
 Vṛṣabhasvāmin, donee 113
 Vṛṣabhavardhana, donee 112
 Vubhyudaya, locality 68, 69 & n, 111, 114
 Vuddhusvāmin, donee 113
 Vuvraḍā, locality 66, 107, 108
 Vuvuḍā, locality 107n
- W**
- Watters, T. 87n
 West Bengal 19, 42, 60, 61, 71
 Western Cālukya, dynasty 4
 Western Gaṅga, dynasty 44
 Wu-cha 23
- Y**
- yajña 95
 Yajñadeva, donee 112
 Yajñasvāmin, donee 112n
 Yajurveda 123, 228
 Yamagarttamaṇḍala 14, 35, 36, 47, 48, 60, 61, 67, 70, 84, 90, 176, 177, 213n
 Yaśovṛddhi, king 37, 155, 158, 162
 Yavāgula-pāṭikā, locality 69, 72, 127
 Yayātinagara 53, 59
 Yoka (wrong reading, locality) 69, 111n
 Yuan Chwang 87 & n
 Yudhiṣṭhira 55

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